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IRISH FACTS.

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IRISH FACTS.

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CURRENT NOTES.

“The Larger Policy.”

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, speaking in the House of Commons on February 12, gave the authoritative definition of the “larger policy.” He said :—

“The Irish people should have what every self-governing Colony in the whole Empire has—the power of managing its own affairs. That is the larger policy that I have spoken of.”—“Times,” February 13, 1907.

It is to this policy of Colonial independence that the Irish Council Bill of the Government is to lead.

In connection with this Mr. Birrell’s statement in the House of Commons on February 13 will be read with interest. He said :—

“The Prime Minister, like myself in that respect, is perfectly satisfied that ultimately the only solution that will give satisfaction to the great majority of the population of Ireland will be what is generally called a Home Rule Parliament ; and, therefore, he says, he would never make himself responsible for any measure which would be in any way likely to obstruct or interfere with the fulfilment of these hopes.”—“Times,” February 14, 1907.

Mr. Asquith’s Pledge.

Mr. Asquith, speaking in the House of Commons on February 16, gave the following pledge :—

“If, when the scheme of the Government is produced it contains any provision which either in letter or spirit is inconsistent with, or is a violation of any pledge, assurance, or declaration that I have ever given, either before or during the General Election—if that is the case, and it can be proved, I will at once resign my position in His Majesty’s Government.”—“Times,” February 19, 1907.

Mr. Asquith’s most specific declaration was made during the General Election at Leuchars, on January 13, 1906, when he said, in reply to a heckler :—

“In my opinion the question of Home Rule is not a question for the next House of Commons, and I should regard it as playing false to the constituencies if, appealing as we are for votes for Free

Trade, and getting votes for Free Trade from many who are not Home Rulers, we were to use our majority for the purpose of carrying it.”—“Morning Post,” January 15, 1906.

The country will await with interest Mr. Asquith’s decision when the Irish Council Bill is produced.

Mr. Balfour speaks out.

Mr. Balfour has effectively put an end to the foolish fable industriously spread about by the Radicals that he favoured Devolution. Speaking in the House of Commons on the 18th February, he said :—

“I felt, I admit, rather aggrieved when, without rhyme or reason, or any connection with the amendment, he (Mr. Asquith) chose to quote and endorse a statement made by the Foreign Secretary at Newcastle in December which never had a vestige of foundation, which has been elaborately and deliberately contradicted by me more than once, that I ever gave my consent, directly or indirectly, to any form of Devolution. Neither by letter, conversation, suggestion, nor assertion have I under any circumstances, to anybody or in any place, suggested that I was in favour of Devolution. The Foreign Secretary ought never to have made the statement, and it ought never to have been repeated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.”—“Times,” February 19, 1907.

The Courage of their Convictions.

In their dealings with Ireland, the Government are burdened with a remarkable confession of weakness. Look at the paradoxical position they occupy on the Home Rule question. The Liberals are in power with an overwhelming numerical majority. Their leaders are all pledged to Home Rule. They all believe in Home Rule. The great majority of the rank and file are also pledged to Home Rule, and also believe in it. Yet they have not the courage of their opinions. They are so afraid of public opinion in Great Britain that they are not going to carry out the policy in which time after time they have declared their firm belief. They aim at Home Rule, but they have determined to proceed by degrees to the goal, lest they run too violently against the feelings of the people.

So, again, the Government have approved the Crimes Act being declared “a gross violation of the Constitution, without parallel in any other portion of His Majesty’s dominions,” and, further, that it “should be immediately repealed.” Yet they refuse to repeal it; but to please the Nationalists, Mr. Birrell promised that under the present Government it should be “to all intents and purposes, dead and buried.” The Government lack the courage of their convictions.

The Dictator speaks.

Mr. Redmond, at the St. Patrick’s Day celebrations at Bradford, laid it down quite plainly that “Nothing could satisfy their demand but an Irish Parliament with an Executive responsibility.” He continued, “If the scheme to be brought forward laid the foundations upon which they could build . . . then very possibly Ireland might seriously consider whether such a scheme ought not to be **accepted for what it was worth.**”—(“Standard,” March 18.) These last words are significant. It is quite clear that the Irish Nationalists only accept the Radical

Government's scheme as a stepping-stone to "the larger policy"; as an alternative to Home Rule it will be at once ruled out.

Mr. Redmond went on to threaten the Government that "the time had arrived when they must make their choice between either trusting the people and passing their scheme, whether it was short of Home Rule or not, upon broad popular democratic principles, or else they must face a breaking with Ireland and the National party, and the prospect of having once more to attempt to govern Ireland by the old, rusty, and discredited weapons of force and coercion."—"Standard," March 18.)

This threat of outrage, disorder, and intimidation if Mr. Redmond does not get what he wants, will have no effect on the British public, who are not accustomed to dictation. Mr. Redmond, however, thinks the threat sufficient to awe the Government into submission, for he declared that "he himself had no doubt whatever as to what the choice would be." He added rather unkindly that "he had known the Prime Minister for twenty-six years, and he had been during that time an outspoken Home Ruler."

Those Radicals who at the General Election declared that Home Rule was a bogey, and that votes gained for Free Trade should not be used to advance Home Rule, are in an unfortunate position. The Irish Nationalists will only support the Government scheme on the one condition that it leads to Home Rule; if it does, then those Radicals who ruled out Home Rule at the General Election will have to choose between voting against the Government or breaking their pledges to their constituents.

No Settlement.

Those who fancy that the Irish Council Bill the Government are going to introduce this year will settle the Irish question will be undeceived by the following resolution which was recently proposed at a meeting of the National Directory by the Nationalist leader, Mr. John Redmond, M.P., and carried unanimously:—

"We declare, in the name of the people of Ireland, the National demand remains unaltered and unalterable for a **native Parliament with a responsible Executive** having power over all purely Irish affairs, and that nothing short of this can satisfy the aspirations of the Irish race.

"Further, we deem it our duty to declare that, while we believe the Irish people are prepared to give fair consideration to any scheme for the extension of popular power and responsibility, no change which does not give to the freely elected representatives of the people full control over the affairs of Ireland can be accepted as a **settlement** of the National question, or can bring peace or prosperity to Ireland." —"Freeman's Journal," February 6, 1907.

Governments usually introduce measures with the object of settling once and for all some disputed public question; but here we have a Government about to introduce a measure which is acknowledged both by themselves and by their Nationalist allies not to be a settlement of the question at all! The prospect in front of the country, if the Government have their way, is a year of Parliamentary discussion, followed by years of political agitation, and then another instalment towards Home Rule. All this time social reforms will be hampered or neglected entirely.

Mr. Redmond Criticised.

From "Sinn Fein," the "Irish-Ireland" weekly paper (23rd March), we take the following comments on Mr. Redmond's speech at Bradford:—

"Amongst the Parliamentary orators on St. Patrick's Day was Mr. John Redmond. The chairman of the Irish Parliamentary party told his countrymen that he had known the present Prime Minister of England to have been a consistent Home Ruler for twenty-six years past—since 1881. In that year and the five succeeding years we find, by referring to Hansard, that the consistent Home Ruler voted for every coercive measure introduced against Ireland, and delivered some dozens of speeches against 'the concession of Home Rule to Ireland.' We find that the Irish Parliamentary party, the Irish Parliamentary party's press, and even Mr. Redmond himself, were wont to refer to him during those years as 'An archcoercionist,' and we find that he came to Ireland four years after Mr. Redmond knew him to be a sincere and consistent Home Ruler to carry out as villainous a system of coercion as was ever designed by English Liberals or Tories for the mere Irish. It now appears from Mr. Redmond's revelation that the present Prime Minister was playing a Machiavellian part—that he was deceiving his colleagues, his constituents, and his country; that whilst he was accepting £5000 a year to carry out coercion in Ireland, he was secretly betraying his paymasters to the Irish Parliamentary party—in the interests of Home Rule. It is an astounding disclosure. That between the years 1881 and 1886 the present British Prime Minister befooled the men who elected him, the men with whom he sat in conclave, the men who paid him—is a proof of ability as exceptional as the perfidy it involves ought to be, and we should hesitate to believe it, if the leader of the Irish Parliamentary party had not publicly declared it true to his own knowledge. To believe it false, therefore, involves believing that the gentleman who is styled the leader of the Irish people is consciously misleading his followers. But the moral Mr. Redmond draws from the astonishing disclosure he has made seems to us entirely unsound. To commend a man to the confidence of other men because he has played a double part, is not logical. If Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman betrayed his own colleagues between the years 1881—1886, it heightens our suspicion that he will betray the Irish people in 1907. We have no reason to believe that an Englishman who has been false to his own country will be true to ours."

Mr. Gladstone condemns the Instalment Plan.

The Government policy of "two bites at the cherry," has been condemned by the greatest of all Home Rulers, the late Liberal Leader, Mr. W. E. Gladstone. Speaking on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill of 1886, he said:—

"I confess that I do not believe in this gradual superstructure. I believe the meaning of it would be, if practicable, that a series of boons would be offered to Ireland, every one of which would, with an enormous loss of Parliamentary time and temper, and with an immense obstruction of public business, be either entirely repudiated by Ireland, or be received in a grudging temper, and with the fullest notification that whatever power of that kind you gave her would

be used simply as an instrument for acquiring more power.”—
“Hansard,” May 10, 1886.

The Government must answer satisfactorily Mr. Gladstone’s strictures on their policy of “Home Rule by instalments” before they can expect the people of this country even to listen to their arguments.

Nationalist Toleration.

The Home Rule Government want the country to believe that the Irish Home Rulers will be ready to treat the Loyal Unionist minority with toleration and moderation. Unionists in Ireland, they say, would have nothing to fear from the Home Rule majority on the proposed Irish Council. The Nationalists had the chance of showing their toleration and moderation in 1898, when Ireland was given a system of local government such as England and Wales has. Mr. Gerald Arbuthnot, writing to “The Times” (February 28), shows the use they made of it.

Their leaders preached moderation and toleration in the following manner :—

Mr. W. O’Brien said :—

“We of the United Irish League are for any amount of toleration and conciliation, but **it is not toleration for Home Rule killers ; it is toleration for men who want to make Ireland a nation.**”

Mr. Michael Davitt told his audience—

“Never to elect the supporters of foreign rule to administer local government.”

Mr. Dillon said :—

“Let it be known beforehand that no man need come and ask for your vote unless he has proved himself to be a friend of the people by joining the United Irish League.”

The effect of such advice may be seen from the fact that in 1906 there were on the Irish County Councils no less than 801 Nationalists, and only 134 Unionists, composed as follows :—

COUNTY COUNCILLORS.

In Ulster there were	116	Unionists and	135	Nationalists.
„ Munster „	2	„ „	217	„
„ Leinster „	14	„ „	307	„
„ Connaught „	2	„ „	142	„
	—		—	
	134		801	

Fourteen counties have not a single Unionist on any county council, while in eight more the minority are represented by one member in each. The seven counties of Munster have only two Unionists in all, and there are a like number in the five counties of Connaught.

Birrell v. the Bench.

“I know enough of village Nonconformity to say that if a microscopic eye was focussed on our villages we too should have a record of that method of exclusive dealing which is too often almost inevitable when feeling runs high.”—Mr. Birrell, House of Commons, Feb. 13, 1907.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE ON CLARE.

Addressing the Grand Jury at the Clare Assizes, his Lordship said :—

He regretted very much that it was not his pleasing privilege to congratulate them on the condition of the county. He was afraid that

many parts of the county were in a **demoralized and lawless condition**, but he thought it would be entirely unjust to apply that description to the whole of the county, and he was careful not to apply it to the whole of the county, but certainly some portions—and he regretted it as much as they did—were in a not at all desirable condition. . . . There was an increase in the number of persons under special protection, and there were about thirty persons in all under what was called “general protection” by the police—that is to say, protection by patrol as distinguished by residence in the houses of noxious persons. In the cases of “special protection” the police reside in the houses; in other cases they protect the people by patrol. **Now, in a shire in England, if it was found necessary, either by special protection, or protection by police, to protect from risk of outrage thirty persons, what would be thought?** It would be thought a very serious state of things; but perhaps it was because they were somewhat accustomed to that state of things in Ireland that so much importance was not attached to it here.—(“Daily Express,” March 5.)

TERRORISM IN LEITRIM.

Mr. Justice Kenny, addressing the Grand Jury at the Leitrim Assizes, said:—

. . . Regarding the general condition of the County of Leitrim, it appeared from official statistics laid before him, as compared with the corresponding period of last year, that there was **an increase in the number of what were called specially reported cases**. He would scarcely think it necessary to observe on this increase, but for the fact that it is represented by that **very odious form of crime**—intimidation, threatening letters, and notices. The County Inspector had informed him that a certain district in that county was in a very lawless condition, and he told him also that there were three families represented by twelve people, who were wholly boycotted, and receive police protection, and, besides, there were two other families who receive partial police protection. “He also told me,” added his lordship, “that one family exists in such a **state of continual danger** that there are three policemen quartered in their house. I am also informed that to such an extent has the spirit of lawlessness developed that in one of the districts to which I have referred the postmen have twice been set upon, and letters forcibly taken from them. In these latter cases I regret to say no one has been made amenable, and when there is such a state of things it justifies the observation made by the learned judge who presided at last Connaught Winter Assizes, who said when the **chain of terrorism** was complete no witness would give evidence and no jury would convict. I wish I could say your county was in a satisfactory condition, and I could offer you my congratulations, but the reports I have received prevent me being able to do so.”—(“Daily Express,” March 5.)

Irish “Justice.”

The difficulty of procuring convictions by Irish juries, notwithstanding that evidence is of the most compromising character, has been illustrated recently at the Leitrim Assizes.

Mr. Justice Kenny, in charging the jury hearing the Brady case, said :—

“When he heard the evidence as to the treatment of these lads he asked himself, as probably many others in court did, were they living in a Christian country and in a civilised community. Counsel for the prisoners had said that the people of the country were looking with admiration towards those prisoners. That was a bad compliment, surely, to the jury, because it meant, if it meant anything, that **they were sympathisers with law-breakers, and had feelings of admiration for a mob of 700 persons who swooped down on seven policemen who were protecting two boys carrying home provisions.** Did they sympathise with that? If they did they were not fit to be jurors in that country. They were not fit to fill the most menial office anyone could conceive. That was as pitiable and as wretched a case as he had ever tried. It was a case in which, if justice was not meted out, there would be a reflection on their County of Leitrim for a long time. It would be said that a jury, in a case where the evidence was about the plainest that could be laid before them, were so far forgetful of their obligations to their God and their country that, having taken an oath to give a verdict according to the evidence, they thought so lightly of that oath, or they stood, perhaps, in such fear of others, that they were willing to break it and acquit the prisoners at the bar.—(“Irish Times,” March 6.)

In spite of the judge's remarks the jury could not agree and were discharged.

Another example comes from the Roscommon Assizes, where, in a Crown prosecution case for unlawful assembly which had been transferred from Sligo because the jury at the previous assizes there failed to find a verdict on the fact, the Roscommon jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. This proceeding moved Mr. Justice Kenny, who heard the case, to request that no member of the jury serving in that case should act in any case he was going to try.

Agrarian Outrages.

From a reply to a question by Mr. Long, we learn that the number of agrarian outrages in Ireland since 1902 is as follows :—

		Agrarian Outrages.		Threatening Letters.		Total.
1902	..	121	..	132	..	253
1903	..	112	..	83	..	195
1904	..	101	..	105	..	206
1905	..	136	..	143	..	279
1906	..	129	..	105	..	234
Jan. 1907	..	8	..	8	..	16
Feb. 1907	..	7	..	4	..	11

Cause and Effect?

At a meeting of the United Irish League held at Creevemully, in Co. Roscommon, on February 24, Mr. Fitzgibbon, the Chairman of the County Council, said :—

“They had 11 months' farms in the district, and **they should see that the occupiers have neither ease nor peace till they give them up.**”—(“Roscommon Messenger,” March 2.)

Now mark what follows.

In the Dublin "Daily Express" (March 5) we read that on Sunday evening (March 3) the police and civilians came into collision near Lecarrow (Co. Roscommon), with somewhat serious results. It is alleged that a certain gentleman, a large grazier, holds a grass farm at Clooneskert, near Shannon, which he promised to give up. Some difficulty arose over the price, and negotiations hung fire. At the last meeting of the Kiltewan Branch of the United Irish League a resolution was passed that unless an answer were received from the grazier before Sunday, 3rd inst., the branch would use every legitimate means in their power to effect a settlement. This answer not having been received, about 100 people of the district, accompanied by a band, proceeded on Sunday to serenade the grazier at Lecarrow. They were met near the village by a body of the police, who ordered them back. The crowd refused, and tried to rush the police, who drew their batons and forced them back. In the scrimmage the big drum was smashed and blows were exchanged on both sides, but the police succeeded in barring the way, and the bandsmen had to return without effecting their purpose. The incident has caused considerable excitement in the district, and prosecutions are likely to follow.

Two more Outrages.

At Ballinagleragh, co. Leitrim, on February 19, a rural postman who was serving registered letters containing processes and ejectments for non-payment of rent on a number of tenants, was set upon by a large body of men whose faces were blackened and otherwise disguised. The registered letters were taken away from him, and he was allowed to depart unharmed. [This is the second outrage of this description since January.]

At a farmstead near Cloghoe, in Mid Cork, lives Achilles Wood, his two sons and daughter. Between 1 and 2 o'clock on the morning of February 23 they were suddenly awakened by a terrific noise. It was not until daylight that they were able to ascertain what had happened. Then they found that one of the gables of their house had been shattered. Near by a burnt fuse was found. Everything points to the belief that an attempt had been made to blow up the house by means of dynamite or some other powerful explosive.

Nationalist "Medicine."

In a certain county a mansion-house and demesne were sold by the Land Judge and were purchased by two gentlemen, relatives of the former owner. These purchasers received from the Court the statutory vesting order prescribed by Act of Parliament, which gave them an indefeasible title to the lands purchased, and which includes a considerable number of scattered plantations. When the purchasers came into possession they repaired the fences round these plantations, planted new trees in some, and generally exercised the ordinary rights of ownership. Included in their purchase was a very considerable strip (500 acres) of mountain.

These owners in October last received a threatening letter requiring them to give these plantations to the tenants of the adjoining lands and to partition the mountain among those whose holdings abutted upon it.

This document proceeded to say that the purchasers would be given until November to make up their minds, but that if they did not give in the "railway man" would be prepared to meet them.

A second threatening letter was received by the same gentlemen in the month of November, in which it was stated that the writer had been to inspect their residences in the north of Ireland, and concluded that, if he had to go round those places again, he "would be bound to do his duty," and that the recipients "would not then want either land or mountain." It so happens that huge stones were placed on the railway line at this very spot on the afternoon of the very day, and in the track of the very train by which it was expected that one of the persons to whom those letters were written would be travelling.

It so happens also that he was not in that train; but that was more by accident than design.

The Brady Boycott.

During the recent Leitrim Assizes, the Bradys, the boycotted persons, for attacking whom certain persons were indicted, were unable to obtain a lodging other than in the police barracks. They are under constant police protection. It is not denied by the Chief Secretary that the boycotting was carried to such an extent that the Judge had to send them his own luncheon, and that they had to be smuggled out of the town into another county where they were not known, before they could obtain a night's lodging. If the Judiciary and the Police were under Nationalist rule, as they will be, if ever Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's "larger policy" comes into operation, the condition of the Bradys would be even less enviable. And, indeed, we should expect to see similar cases wherever the demands of the Nationalist organisations were not complied with.

Intimidation in Ireland.

The following intimidatory notice affords another illustration of the reign of terror maintained in certain parts of Ireland by the United Irish League:—

Two superior farmers, Mr. E. G. Armstrong, of Ballinasloe, and Mr. John Kenny, of Kilmackshane, near Banagher, rent some 300 acres of grass land on a small estate lying between Portumora and Loughrea. They have incurred the displeasure of the local tyrants. Mr. Kenny cannot procure a single man to drive his cattle to the fairs, and owing to the rigorous boycott has been unable to save any hay for the last two years. Both farmers have received intimidatory notices from the League. The one to Mr. Armstrong is as follows:—

Mullagh Branch, United Irish League.

Sir,—The caste to which you belong has too long stood between the people and their just inheritance. We are determined that no such barriers shall be suffered to intervene between the people and what is rightfully theirs, so in justice to you, as well as to ourselves, we hereby give you notice that you shall not be allowed to occupy your farm of Drimatubber one moment longer than April 1, 1907. Rest assured that if you refuse to comply with this mandate of the people of Mullagh, we will ourselves carry it into execution, in broad

daylight and in the most public manner. The time is gone when your prayers for mercy would have been heard. Justice, not mercy, is all we will give, or you receive. (Signed),

T. RILEY.

MICHAEL MANNING.

M. MARTIN, V.P.

JAS HEAD.

P. GARVEY.

JOHN KELLY.

L. GARVEY.

P. EGAN.

M. DONELAN.

M. FALLON.

J. FINERTY.

M. MANNING.

J. FAHY.

J. KELLY.

T. MORGAN.

M. HANRAHAN.

M. CONNACION.

T. HANRAHAN.

M. GANTLEY.

By Order of the Committee.

Mr. Lonsdale, in the House of Commons, on March 13, also questioned Mr. Birrell with reference to a notice, purporting to come from the same branch of the United Irish League, to Mr. H. Burns, informing him that he would not be permitted to occupy his farm of Addergoole one moment beyond April 1, 1907, and that if he refused to comply with the mandate of the people of Mullagh, the signatories of the notice would themselves put it into execution.

Mr. Birrell, in reply, acknowledged that the fact was as stated in the first part of the question. He went on to say: "Persons bearing the names appended to the notice are known to the police, but so far the police are not in a position to prove the signatures. The police will take all necessary steps to protect Mr. Burns in the exercise of his legal rights."

More Terrorism.

Mr. Birrell, on March 18, replying to Mr. Kennedy, the Nationalist M.P. for West Cavan, says that several cases of boycotting, intimidation, and threatening notices have recently occurred in the Cavan part of the Doura district of such a nature that, in the opinion of the responsible police authorities, they have necessitated the temporary strengthening of the police force.

The Tonlagee Farm Case.

The following are the facts of the Tonlagee farm case. They offer a most admirable illustration of what would be the condition of Ireland if it were ruled according to the "Irish ideas" of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman:—

In June, 1906, Mr. John Beirne, of Ballinasloe, bought at public auction the interest in the farm at Tonlagee, in Co. Roscommon. Mr. Beirne bought at the request of the owner, a Mrs. Phibbs, a relative of his. There was no question of eviction or any offence against League law. Shortly after the purchase, Mr. Beirne was called upon by the Kilbride Branch of the U. I. L. to hand over the farm for distribution amongst neighbouring small farmers. He offered to sell it if he was put to no loss. He demanded £100 to meet costs he had to incur. He was offered only £10, which he refused. He therefore took possession of his land, and proceeded to stock it.

On Nov. 7, 1906, Beirne sent 40 head of cattle in charge of a herd to be placed on the farm. They were met by a mob armed with sticks

and having drums and horns. This crowd drove the cattle away, beating them cruelly with sticks. Police were present, but were unable to prevent the riot. They, however, fully identified nine persons who took a prominent part in the assembly. These persons were returned for trial on a charge of unlawful assembly, and were first tried at Sligo Winter Assizes, when the jury disagreed. Mr. Justice Gibson, in charging the jury at Sligo, wound up by saying, "What they had to consider was—did this crowd assemble on this day to prevent the cattle going to Tonlagree farm. If they did, they are guilty, and if they believed they did and did not find them guilty **they were violating their oaths.**" The jury disagreed.

They were again tried at Roscommon on March 11, and acquitted. **No evidence whatever was offered for the defence.** Mr. Justice Kenny pointed out that there was no question of the prisoners' guilt, and on hearing the verdict said to the Crown Solicitor, "I hope you will see that no member of this jury acts on any jury before me in future."

At a public meeting in Ballinasloe, on Jan. 20 last, Mr. Beirne publicly announced his surrender to the League. It would, however, seem from a letter he has since written to the Press that he has merely consented to take from the Estates Commissioners the full value of his land. He puts his position very clearly in his letter in the "Ballinasloe News" in these words:—"If the Estates Commissioners can endorse the plunder and find public money for the purpose, I am willing to forego my interest in the farm."

The verdict of the jury illustrates in the most striking manner the value of Sections 3 and 4 of the Criminal Law and Procedure Act of 1887. The case was tried at this Assizes in the **local** venue. It was open to the Crown to have applied to the Superior Court under the **ordinary law** for a change of venue, but this they failed to do. Yet they now are prepared to deprive themselves of the simpler procedure provided by the Crimes Act, which enables the Attorney-General to change the venue, and which was successfully resorted to by the late Government in several cases.

"In all things charity."

Mr. Redmond, speaking at Liverpool on March 17, said that "the motto of the Irish party might well be 'In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, and in all things charity.'" These sentiments are in accordance with the smooth words and conciliatory phrases Mr. Redmond always utters before English audiences. But it should not be forgotten that Mr. Redmond has another voice—when, for example, at Coalisland, on Nov. 14 last, he declared that those Irish Unionists who opposed him "must be overborne by the strong hand." A beautiful example of sweet charitableness.

"In all things charity." How do Mr. Redmond's followers in Ireland put his precept into practice? A return issued by Mr. Birrell in reply to a question by Mr. Lonsdale, M.P., affords us a glimpse. From it we learn that there are at present in Ireland 47 persons under **constant** protection of 109 policemen, whose time is solely devoted to guarding these persons from the "charity" of Mr. Redmond's supporters. There are also no less than 152 other persons requiring patrol protection from the attentions of Mr. Redmond's supporters.

Since January, 1906, the Home Rule Government has withdrawn its constant protection from 23 persons ; and its patrol protection from 155 persons.

"In all things charity." Yet we find that at the Roscommon Assizes the County Inspector reported that there was "a considerable amount of **veiled intimidation** in connection with the grazing system."

Intimidation at Ardagh.

At Ardagh, on February 24, there was held a public meeting under the auspices of the local branch of the United Irish League. That meeting was addressed by Mr. David Sheehy, M.P., one of Mr. Redmond's followers. His advice was as follows :—

"They did not want to touch a hair on the head of these grabbers. . . . He would have nothing to do with them ; he would not know them on the high road ; he would not know them in the market ; he would pass them by wherever he met them. They would treat these grabbers with contempt and scorn, and with these weapons alone they would force the grabbers to clear out. As a father advised his son to shun bad company, as a mother advised her daughter to keep in respectable society lest she might stain her fair fame, so, too, he would say to all those listening to him, if they valued their own self-respect, to keep away from the grabbers."—("Belfast News" Letter, March 9.)

In the chair at this meeting was the secretary of the local branch of the United Irish League. "The grabbers," he said, "would never enter Crannagh Farm, even if the people were compelled to line the fences with pikes to keep them out."

We learn from Mr. Birrell (House of Commons, March 13) that the police are in **constant** attendance at the Crannagh farm, for the protection of Mr. Keane and others who have taken divisions of the land ; that steps are being taken for the erection of a police hut on the farm, and that the police will take all possible steps to prevent any interference with the persons concerned in the exercise of their legal rights.

What they are fed on.

A sample of oratory, from Mr. Ginnell, the Nationalist M.P., is useful as an illustration of the advice given to the Irish rural population by their leaders. Mr. Ginnell speaking on February 3 at Killulagh in North Westmeath thus advised his audience :—

"They knew that in other places they had attacked the ranchers' cattle and had driven them off the land out on the road in broad daylight. They knew that they got some trouble as a result. If those people in his constituency were prepared to take similar action, he (Mr. Ginnell) was prepared to accompany them any day or night ; he cared not who disliked it. . . .

"In Killulagh or anywhere else where the people had the courage to attack the bullocks and clear the land, then he was with them day or night, or any other time they were prepared to take action of that kind."—"Midland Reporter," February 7, 1907.

A disloyal placard.

The following is a specimen of the anti-enlistment posters which have been recently posted up in various parts of Ireland :—

YOUNG MAN OF MAGHERA.

Beware of the Recruiter !

Keep out of the company of the British soldier !

Remember ! He who joins the British Army or keeps the company of British Soldiers is a renegade.

All this Marching and Parading which is going on through the Country is for the purpose of getting young Irishmen to join the British Army ; and young Irishmen, remember that you owe Allegiance to Ireland and for Ireland only. Are you to don the Soldier's coat ?

Fathers and Mothers—if you love your children, and wish them to lead pure lives, keep them in the house whilst the British Soldiery are on the Streets of Maghera, and tell them how their forefathers were treated by the British Soldiers in 1798.

Seditious Dublin Leaflet.

The following is a copy of a disgraceful seditious leaflet which is being circulated among the domestic servants of Dublin and its suburbs :—

“ IRISH GIRLS !

“ Ireland has need of the loving service of all her children. Irishwomen do not sufficiently realise the power they have to help or hinder the cause of Ireland's freedom. If they did, we should not see the sad sight of Irish girls walking through the streets with men wearing the uniform of Ireland's oppressor.

“ No man can serve two masters ; no man can honestly serve Ireland and serve England. The Irishman who has chosen to wear the English uniform has chosen to serve the enemy of Ireland, and it is the duty of every Irishwoman who believes in the freedom of Ireland to show her disapproval of his conduct by shunning his company.

“ Irish girls who walk with Irishmen wearing England's uniform, remember you are walking with traitors. Irish girls who walk with English soldiers, remember you are walking with your country's enemies, and with men who are unfit to be the companions of any girl, for it is well known that the English Army is the most degraded and immoral army in Europe, chiefly recruited in the slums of English cities among men of the lowest and most depraved characters. You endanger your purity and honour by associating with such men, and you insult your motherland. Harken to the words of Father Kavanagh, the Irish Franciscan patriot priest, who pronounces it a heinous crime against Ireland for Irishmen to join the forces of robber England. Do you think it is less a crime for Irish girls to honour these men with their company ? Remember the history of your country. Remember the women of Limerick, and the glorious patriot women of the great rebellion of '98, and let us, who are their descendants, try to be worthy of them. What would those noble women think if they knew their daughters were associating with men belonging to that army, which has so often wrought ruin and havoc in Ireland, and murdered in cold blood thousands of Irishwomen and children ? What English soldiers have done in Ireland in

the past they would do again if ordered to do so. They would slaughter our kith and kin, and murder women and children in those horrible concentration camps, where ten thousand little Boer children died from want and suffering.

"Irish girls, make a vow, not only that you will yourselves refuse to associate with any man who wears an English uniform, but that you will also try and induce your girl companions to do the same. Women's influence is strong. Let us see, follow-countrywomen, that we use it to the fullest for the Glory of God, and for the honour and Freedom of Ireland (here are introduced some words in Gaelic characters). . . . are very anxious to get the co-operation of any girl who reads this handbill and feels she would like to help in working for Ireland's freedom and trying to save innocent country girls from the great danger which their thoughtless association with soldiers exposes them to. The Secretaries are always to be seen on Thursday evenings between 8 and 10 o'clock at (more Gaelic words) 22, North Great George's-street, Dublin, and we appeal to all Irishwomen to help us in this great social and national work."

The Slanderous Handbill.

How much the Home Rule Government fear Mr. Redmond and his supporters may be accurately estimated from the fact that Mr. Haldane, the Secretary for War, has refused to take steps to prohibit the further circulation, or adequately to punish those responsible for the publication of this leaflet.

Irish Self-Government.

"Are you prepared to deny that the Irish people are entitled to manage their own domestic affairs."—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, House of Commons, February 12, 1907.

[SCENE—Claremorris Board of Guardians. TIME—February 13, 1907. OCCASION—The election of a new Clerk to the Board. Archdeacon Kilkenny, P.P., Claremorris, had petitioned the Guardians that they should consider no candidate who did not secure a character from his Parish Priest. Mr. Conor O'Kelly, M.P., took this as being aimed at his brother, Mr. Denis O'Kelly, who was a candidate for the clerkship.]

A large crowd from Irishtown swarmed into the Board Room to back Mr. Conor O'Kelly, and there were several priests present, but Archdeacon Kilkenny was absent on this occasion.

Mr. Hennelly: I propose Mr. Judge. He has got a splendid character from Archdeacon Kilkenny—

* Mr. Conor O'Kelly, M.P.: At so much per line.

Mr. Denis O'Kelly (brother of Mr. Conor O'Kelly): I wouldn't have a character from Dr. Kilkenny. He hasn't one himself.

Mr. T. P. Donnellan: Order, order. This is not language to use. I will walk out of this room if this thing goes on. Business must be conducted as it ought to be. (Hear, hear.)

After the poll was recorded, showing a majority of three votes for Mr. Judge, but before the chairman had made a formal declaration of the result,

Mr. Denis O'Kelly moved towards the table from where he was standing near the clerk's private office, and said: "We will only accept defeat from the people. We are not beaten by the people to-day. We are beaten by the priests. They have defeated us, but we are not beaten by the people." He spoke these words with a display of intense passion, and the calls for "order" were drowned in the approval with which the utterances were received by a number of people in the room. Again raising his hand he repeated: "We are not beaten by the people. We were beaten by the priests, presbyteries, convents, and seminaries, and other clerical subterranean influences that were marshalled against us." (Cheers.)

Mr. Conor O'Kelly: Shut up! Shut up!

Mr. Denis O'Kelly: And the other clerical and mean agencies that were marshalled against us.

Mr. Conor O'Kelly: Shut up——

Mr. Denis O'Kelly: Don't suppress me, sir; you have suppressed me long enough; I won't be suppressed by you now. Livid with passion, he continued: "Where is sneaking Kilkenny to-day? Where is the cowardly assassin—the coward who threw the bomb and ran away?"...

Mingled cheers and cries of "Order" arose throughout the room, and the excitement rose to fever height. In the midst of it Mr. Denis O'Kelly passed from the top of the room to the end of the table, upon which he mounted, exclaiming: "Where is he now? Where is he to-day? Where is Kilkenny? He ran away, the sneak! The coward!"

Mr. Caulfield, P.L.G.: Archdeacon Kilkenny will meet you soon enough for this.

Mr. Conor O'Kelly: Shut up your mouth, you scoundrel, or I will soon close it for you!...

At this point the excitement was great, and Mr. Conor O'Kelly grasped his walking-stick and crossed the table to Mr. Caulfield.

Mr. Caulfield shouted: Come on, I am man enough for you.

Mr. Conor O'Kelly then sprang to the edge of the table and raised his stick to strike Mr. Caulfield, who would certainly have received it on the head only for the presence of mind of Mr. Thomas Burke, Carramore, who is a deaf mute, and, we might remark, a man of superior intelligence. Mr. Burke at the crucial moment clasped Mr. O'Kelly in his arms and stayed his hand for the moment, Mr. Caulfield in the meantime being pressed in towards the clerk's private office away out of the danger zone. . .

Mr. Conor O'Kelly had by this time recovered his usual calm, and on crossing over to resume his seat the crowd broke forth into ringing bursts of cheers for him, the demonstration being heightened by the general waving of hats. As he got to his seat he said: "The moral assassin is absent! Kilkenny, the sneak, is absent. . ."

Peace having been restored somewhat, Mr. Denis O'Kelly said: "How dare Caulfield, the cur, speak to me?"

Great confusion again broke out in the lower end of the room. . .

During the uproar several people shouted: "Don't kill poor Caulfield."

Mr. Denis O'Kelly: Let the sneak keep out of my way.

Later when Mr. E. Caulfield, P.L.G., passed out of the room, he was met in the passage by Mr. W. O'Kelly, who struck him over the right eye, causing the blood to gush out. Mr. Caulfield defended himself with

his stick, and struck back at Mr. O'Kelly, meeting him, it is said, on the head with a blow, and in the course of a brief scuffle Mr. O'Kelly wrenched the stick from him. . . . Soon afterwards the police (a small party of whom had been on duty outside the workhouse gate while the election was proceeding) appeared on the scene and took down Mr. O'Kelly's and Mr. Caulfield's names.

On the evening of the same day the windows of Archdeacon Kilkenny's presbytery were broken by stones, flung by some unknown parties. The priests of Dunmore Deanery have denounced the language used by men holding representative positions in Mayo as being worse than the conduct in France. Assemblies in Ballyhaunis and Claremorris have also passed votes of sympathy with Archdeacon Kilkenny.—“Roscommon Herald,” February 23, 1907.

A Nonconformist Opinion.

Mr. Hay Morgan, M.P., in an interview with a “Tribune” representative (February 27) on the new Radical “Education” Bill, was very angry with the Irish Nationalists for daring to vote against the first reading of the measure. He is reported to have said:—

“You may take it generally that the Nonconformists are very indignant about the action of the Nationalists. They had not the smallest need to interfere. They represent Irish constituencies, and the Bill has no application to Ireland. Their action is significant. **If the Roman Catholic Irishmen get Home Rule, this is the kind of tyranny they would exercise over the Protestants in their own country.**”

That Home Rule means Rome Rule, Unionists have always maintained. This view is now confirmed by a leading Nonconformist. Free Churchmen please note.

THE IRISH QUESTION.

I.—THE TWO “IRELANDS.”

By Ian Malcolm.

It is becoming a political habit amongst our statesmen to overhaul the constitution of the United Kingdom once, at least, in every ten years, and to thresh out the much-vexed question, “ Shall Ireland continue to be a partner in the British Empire, or shall she cease to belong to the firm ? ” In the intervals which elapse between the periodical storms thus raised, a new body of electors arises which has not hitherto considered the problem as a matter of practical politics. As the generation of voters changes, so, too, does the wording of the question put to them ; the proposals of Mr. Butt, who argued in 1874 for what was then called Home Rule, before an electorate of moderately-educated and prosperous citizens, bear but little relation to the schemes so passionately propounded by Mr. Gladstone in 1886 and 1893 to the enfranchised multitude, upon whose uninstructed minds it was hoped that the last great measure of the Grand Old Man would create a deep and favourable impression. Another decade passes, and the grand-children of those who were concerned with Mr. Butt are now asked to vote for Home Rule under the foreign name of Devolution.

The Object in view.

To these, as well as to men whose heads are grown weary of the “ Everlasting Irish Question,” but whose hearts though older are not less patriotic than before, are addressed these articles on the meaning of Home Rule to the Empire and to Ireland. Since Mr. Gladstone’s second Home Rule Bill was buried beneath the ruins of his own party after the General Election of 1895, the minds of men have been so fully occupied with other matters of war and education and tariff reform, that the elector of 1907 has ample justification for saying that he does not know the case against Home Rule, nor whether he can approve of or reject it. These papers, then, are purposed to explain that case as it would apply if a Bill which would satisfy the Irish Nationalists were brought in to-morrow ; they will set forth the various causes which are assigned as reasons or excuses for the discontent and disorder which are prevalent in certain parts of Ireland to-day ; they will discuss the remedies demanded and the results foreshadowed by Home Rulers in Ireland ; they will examine the credentials to be teachers of the people, both of the Separatist who loathes and the Loyalist who would maintain the Union. It is hoped that a careful perusal of the forthcoming articles will furnish answers to the far-flung advertisement of Home Rule as a safe cure for all the ills of Ireland ; that they will also suggest questions which may most pertinently be asked of those who would loosen the tie between Ireland and the Sister-Kingdoms.

“ Ireland wants Home Rule.”

The first assertion which is invariably made upon a Radical platform is that “ Ireland wants Home Rule ” ; and therefore it is inferred that

she ought to have it. Such is the audacity of the latter-day orator of a particular type ; he does not stay to verify his facts, but proceeds upon a false basis to establish an immoral conclusion. The truth is that no Irishmen, except agitators, would dream of stating that "Ireland" wants Home Rule. They all know that such a proposition could never be established either by argument or artifice. They know that although some three millions of people in Ireland have been persuaded, by methods which will hereafter be described, to vote for Home Rule, yet there remains $1\frac{1}{2}$ million of Loyalists who are inalterably opposed to it ; they know that the Loyalist minority contains the brains and the grit and the money which has done more to keep Ireland's head above water than anything else except the generosity of the British taxpayer ; they know that, if the Loyalists of Ireland were to leave their country, and betake themselves and their businesses across the water, there is neither character nor capital nor energy nor education nor ambition enough among the remaining three millions to keep the country from immediate national bankruptcy. This predominant fact—that there are two Irelands, one Loyal and one Separatist—must never be lost sight of ; the busy, shrewd industrious man of Ulster does the work, whilst the indolent, thriftless Southron does the shouting for Home Rule. There are two Irelands, one Roman Catholic and one Protestant ; the former coerced in all matters, whether secular or spiritual, by the priesthood whose functions should be limited (according to the injunction of the Pope) to the ministrations of the Church ; the latter independent and law-abiding, working out its own salvation without political dictation from the altar of the Christian's God. There are two Irelands, one Imperial and one "for ourselves alone" ; the former proud of and devoted to the Empire, in whose Government her sons have taken no small part ; the latter, if we are to recognise her M.P.'s as her representatives, praying for the day of her deliverance from the links that bind her to the richest and most tolerant Empire in the world.

What Home Rule means.

Loyalist Ireland combines, then, to petition the Crown not to humiliate her by depriving her of a share in the great heritage which belongs to Britain, nor to place the fruits of her industry at the disposal of the sworn enemies of the Empire, nor to deliver over her protestant communities to the tender mercies of Roman Catholicism with all that it entails. Separatist Ireland demands from the democracy of Great Britain that she shall still further bleed the predominant partner to her own advantage ; that money shall be found for the support of those who will not support themselves ; that land legislation shall be enacted for Ireland which has no parallel in the legislation of Great Britain ; that the rights of the loyal minority shall be swamped by the votes of the disloyal majority ; and that all those favours shall be granted as an instalment of the larger policy of definite Separation. Between these two claimants Great Britain now stands as arbitrator ; between the men who talk about dying for their country and the men who do not talk but who live and work for her prosperity.

The problem of Home Rule resolves itself into this simple question ; Shall Great Britain, with her resources in money and her world-wide administrative experience, stand aside and let the conflicting parties fight it out in civil war ; or shall she remain steadfast to those who have

proved themselves worthy citizens of the Empire and loyal subject of the Crown? Either course may be agreeable, but the fate of the Empire depends upon the answer given. If the Separatist school wins the day, and betrayal is to be the price of loyalty, then the "craven fear of being great" will bring its own reward. If the Loyalists, not only of Ireland but of the whole United Empire, stand for Unity there is yet a chance that those three millions whose misfortune it has been to fall into the snare of the paid agitator may be extricated therefrom, and follow in the paths which have conducted every part of the Empire to prosperity.

II.—A PROSPEROUS PROVINCE.

By Ian Malcolm.

There is no assertion more boldly or frequently (or baselessly) made by Home Rulers than this: That the British laws which govern Ireland are brutal and tyrannical, and that they are immediately responsible for the poverty and discontent of "Ireland." In the preceding article I think I showed conclusively that in the sister isle there are two Irelands, and that for Loyalist Ireland the Separatist orator has no right to speak. The Province of Ulster is a living witness to the absurdity of this charge against British government, and a striking proof that law-abiding citizens can make a competence (or in some cases a fortune) in Ireland as elsewhere.

The appearance of Belfast.

A visit to Belfast, the capital of Ulster, will convince the most hardened sceptic of the truth of this statement. Indeed, he might almost fancy, from the external evidences which meet his eye from the moment that he sets foot in the city, that he is still in one of the populous and prosperous towns of England or Scotland. He may walk about the ship-building yards, which Harland and Wolff have made famous, and in which more than 20,000 hands are regularly employed. He may care to investigate the conditions of the Belfast linen trade, which occupies no less than 120,000 workpeople at the present time, and he will find in it machinery and all appliances abreast of all the most modern requirements. So with the largest rope-works in the world, the tobacco manufactories, the flour mills, and a hive of smaller concerns; all prospering and peaceful and contented. To the man of business in England or Scotland, whose ideas of the state of Ireland are fashioned out of the material provided by Nationalist speakers, those phenomena will appear sufficiently striking. He continues his journey into the heart of Belfast, probably on a first-class electric tram-car—through broad streets and narrow, whose general appearance betokens a condition of things no less flourishing than that which obtains in Birmingham or Liverpool or Glasgow. He passes magnificent public buildings for every conceivable public purpose, he admires the new City Hall recently erected at a cost of some £350,000, the banks, the hospitals and parks and innumerable churches. Every sign by which he has been accustomed in other parts of the world to infer general well-being is before his eyes; he detects none of the tyranny and mischief which is said to beset "Ireland" on every hand.

Trade and Commerce.

Yet Belfast dates its importance, its riches, and its condition from the years which have elapsed subsequent to the legislative Union with England. In the year 1800 there were but 20,000 people in the town, which was situated on a mud bank, with its port at Carrickfergus. Forty years afterwards the population had increased to 75,000, and to-day it numbers no less than 370,000 souls; whilst in the same period Dublin has only added 55,000, and Waterford 3,000 persons to its total, and Cork and Limerick show a decrease of 4,000 and 10,000 respectively. Comparative statistics in Ireland are not easy to obtain, and nowhere can they be called light reading; yet the wealth of Belfast can be proved by a few more figures to show that the increase of her prosperity keeps pace with the rising population. The tonnage cleared from the port has increased by half a million of tons since 1893; in the savings banks the amount due to depositors stands £300,000 higher than ten years ago; and it is to be remarked that all favourable evidence goes to show a steady rise in the moral and commercial condition of this great city since first statistics began to be compiled.

No Home Rule.

Now this is the province and this is the capital and these are the people who have declared in 1886 and again in 1893 that "We will not have Home Rule." Their determination is shown in every branch of their daily and social life; it is no less unswerving in the political problems upon which their minds are made up. Their objections to Separation from Great Britain are manifold and insuperable, and it is well that the people of England and Scotland should know them. In the first place, they draw no fine distinction between Devolution and Home Rule and Separation; they know as well as the Prime Minister and Mr. Redmond that the first two schemes lead inevitably, and by painful paths, to the disastrous third. Remember, they live in a country whose newspapers never blink that fact for a moment, and whose columns are daily filled with frank utterances to this effect by Nationalist priests and politicians. Then, they are thorough-going Imperialists "all the time," proud beyond words of the share that Irishmen have taken in making their Empire and ours. The names of Lords Mayo and Dufferin and Roberts and Charles Beresford are shrined in their hearts as national treasures. They are proud to feel that Ireland takes no mean part in governing an Empire of over 400,000,000 of people; and they turn with loathing to the contemplation of Separation with its prospect of a little Ireland, governed by a permanently priest-ridden majority, in which Ulster would sink from her high place in an Empire to the humiliating position of a perpetual minority in a glorified County Council.

Pope or King.

Thirdly, and since this conviction in the Loyalist mind is as overwhelming as it is conscientious, it must be stated and accepted—the men of the North, Protestants of the Protestants, will not tolerate the idea of being ruled by a majority controlled by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. On every hand they see the power of that Church, and to its influence in sapping the individuality of its adherents they attribute the invertebrate character of Roman Catholic Ireland, "which toils not neither does it spin." They know, moreover, that at present wherever it is possible, throughout the South and West, no Protestant need apply

with any hope of success for positions in the local administration of the humblest kind; and they argue with considerable force that this spirit will pervade every department of the new Council and of the Separate Parliament, and that they in the North, together with their co-religionists scattered throughout Ireland, will in consequence be for ever ousted from the Government of the land of their birth. Lastly, they point to the total wealth which they contribute, rich and poor alike, to the revenue of Ireland; and they dispute the justice of handing this over to the discretion and distribution of men whose whole policy and aspirations they consider ruinous and immoral. These are some of their reasons for fighting Home Rule to the very last.

I pass over for the moment the obligation which England owes to Loyal Irishmen for keeping the flag flying and unharmed since the Union, nor will I now dwell upon our Imperial responsibility if the resolution of Ulster is put to the uttermost test. My object has been to give some indication of the mind of the loyal Irish upon the one subject which dominates public attention in Ireland to-day, and to present an outline of the prosperity which has steadily followed in the wake of an energetic and law-abiding people.

III.—LAND HUNGER.

By Ian Malcolm.

The familiar platitude, which is cheered upon every Home Rule platform, that "The Settlement of the Land Question will settle the Irish Question," is a transparent fraud. If it were true we should also have to admit that the passing of every Land Act for Ireland since 1881 was marked by a diminution of agitation and disorder proportionate to the relief afforded. Few honest men of whatever party in Ireland would subscribe in their hearts to such a statement. By the "Land Question" the agitators mean the problem of transferring the land from the landlord to the small farmers and labourers of Ireland. They assert that, when all the landlord class is driven out of the country, and when the peasantry is established in full possession, then, and not till then, "Ireland" will become a peaceful and prosperous country. This assertion infers that in Ireland the conditions under which men of the humblest class may become owners of land are so onerous and unfair that for all practical purposes they do not exist.

Irish Land Acts.

Let me, then, in a few sentences trace the process by which it has come about that, in this year 1907 A.D., the poorest tenant may become the immediate possessor of the land, and note the terms upon which he may acquire it. This survey will drive others, as it has driven me, to the conclusion that the British Government has, in its wisdom, conferred on the Irish peasant such a number of boons (in the matter of grants and exceptional legislation for the acquisition of land), that the British tenant in a similar position may well wonder why the same advantages are not extended to him. The truth is that for the past twenty years the Imperial Parliament has had no time to think of the English and Scotch tenants.

All its spare time, all its spare energies—it is hardly an exaggeration to say—have been devoted to the Irish question. It is really curious to hear the Nationalist members repeat the old cry that the Parliament at Westminster is unwilling and unable to do anything for Ireland. I have a volume before me of the Land Acts dealing with Ireland which have been passed since 1860. It is a portentous volume, a code of laws in itself; it shows what a disproportionate share of attention Ireland has received from the Legislature. First there is the Act of 1860, which converted the whole system of land tenure in Ireland from a feudal system into one depending upon an implied or expressed contract between landlord and tenant. Then followed the Act of 1870, which first gave compensation to agricultural tenants for disturbance. From 1881, when the tenant acquired the right of free sale, and to have his rent fixed by a Court, no less than eleven important Statutes have been passed dealing with Irish land. The status of the Irish agricultural tenant now is such that he has an interest in his holding as valuable as his landlord's. The landlord, in 90 per cent. of cases, has a mere rent charge. And now the tenant can redeem this rent charge by money lent to him by the Imperial Treasury at $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. interest.

More than this, the Land Act of 1903 presents a handsome bribe in the shape of a free gift of £12,000,000 to induce the landlords to sell to their tenants; it also provides for the evicted tenants, and enables the Land Commissioners to make advances to them.

Is this "Tyranny"?

It will now be seen that if the right of complaint lies with any one it lies with the English and Scotch farmer, that this preferential legislation (called "tyranny" and "land grabbing," &c., by Nationalist orators) is beyond his reach. And yet no man who is acquainted with the state of Ireland to-day will venture to assert that all these measures, with the undoubted benefits which they have entailed, have reduced by a single adjective the invective hurled by the Irish party at the heads of the British Government and the British people. "Oppression" and such like words are still employed by Irish politicians, and not a few priests, to express their opinion of the administration of Ireland by the British Parliament.

Wherein, then, does this tyranny consist? I can find no other answer to the question than this: it consists in expecting the obligations of contract to be fulfilled in Ireland, as in all other parts of the civilised world. The payment of rent, fixed not by stony-hearted landlords but by impartial and incorruptible Judges, is no part of the social morality preached by the instructors of these unhappy people; it is regarded rather as an extortionate tribute wrung from the poorest citizens in the country, as a detestable contribution to swell the coffers of a rack-renting class, as a legal obligation which it is an honour to evade. From the dissemination of this pernicious doctrine, which is subversive of the fundamental principles of civilisation, springs the crime and outrage and misery which is so unhappily associated with the history of land agitation in Ireland. For it not only teaches men to deny the elementary duties of Christian citizens in a civilised State; it inculcates the barbarian doctrine that might is right, and that all property belongs to him who wants it and can take it; it substitutes for the present order of things no system of economic living which shall ensure for the new Ireland more prosperity

than was possible under the old régime. This is the result of Nationalist teaching ; these are the lessons to guide the youth of Ireland in the struggle for life which is before them, which is to include—if the Prime Minister has his way—the administration of the whole of Ireland. The contrast is immensely instructive : the British Government, at vast expense to the tax-payer, gives to every tenant in Ireland the power to purchase his holding ; the Nationalist party spares no effort to break down agreements, to set up difficulties, and to prevent the execution of the transaction. Which is to blame for keeping the old wound open, if land purchase can heal it ? The answer is obvious.

Peasant Landlords.

This leads me to the last consideration to which I would direct public attention with regard to the “ Irish Land Question.” Fair-minded readers will admit that Parliamentary ingenuity and public money have been lavishly expended during the past twenty years with the object of satisfying all legitimate (and a good deal of illegitimate) “ land hunger,” and with the result of putting the Irish tenant in a position which any Englishman or Scotsman might reasonably envy. Will the possessor really be a happier man on this account, and will he now turn his Naboth’s vineyard into an instrument for increasing the wealth of his country ? I confess that I find the greatest difficulty in even supposing that a satisfactory answer can be given to the foregoing questions, much as I should like to believe that, once settled down on his very own farm, the Irish peasant will turn to and cultivate it as the peasant proprietors of other countries do. I can only find evidence pointing to a very different probability. With all his charm, the ordinary Irishman of the south and west is a thoroughly undisciplined creature. Regular work is distasteful to him ; punctuality, early rising, facing difficulties, are among the virtues lacking in his otherwise amiable character. Owing largely to this incurable indolence Ireland, with its genial climate and fertile soil, remains a permanent pasture land, two-thirds of which has never known the approach of spade or plough. Are we justified in believing that thousands of men, in humbler walks of life than those who have hitherto been owners, will, on entering into possession, become strenuous labourers on their own lands, and break up these illimitable grazing ranches into the fattening land and dairy pastures and crop-growing areas for which nature undoubtedly intended them ? I fear not, for habits cannot be cured by Acts of Parliament, however generous. Men who, by grant and dole, are almost bribed into acquiring property which ought to be the goal of self-denial and effort, are not likely to change their habits to fit their new responsibilities. Observe the average cottager, as he sprawls lazily before his cabin door, on a fine summer’s afternoon, smoking his pipe ; look at the way he keeps his potato patch or his bit of garden. It is usually a wilderness of weeds. Any farmer can make a shrewd guess at the future which is in store for this man, and for his country, when he becomes the proud owner of the pasture-ground and arable land which the agitators tell him is his by right.

What is Lacking ?

Poor man, I cannot blame him ; at the present time he is physically unfitted for his new duties, his inclination and his training being wholly opposed to the task of fulfilling them. The chances are that, after his

natural elation at becoming a landlord has evaporated, he will sub-divide his holding and sell to smaller people more impecunious and lazier than himself, or he will fall a victim to the money-lender, who is never very far away from his thoughts. If it be admitted that these forecasts are well within the region of probability—and they are the inevitable alternatives to a strenuous life—then the Irish Question must begin afresh, and the nett result of all the Land Acts will be the soil impoverished by the neglect of an improvident nation of proprietors.

It is to education alone that the Irishman must look for the regeneration of his race; the primary schools must be lifted from the slough of bitter sectarianism in which they are sunk, the teachers must be taught something worth teaching, the pupils must be imbued with a true sense of the dignity of labour; until these preliminaries are accomplished, it is a folly and a crime to dream of handing over to them the grave affairs of national administration.

IV.—“EDUCATION.”

By “Pat.” *

THERE is little education in Ireland, but much learning, at great expense; and the lack of education makes the learning useless. The national head is filled with knowledge, real and alleged (especially the latter); but there is not much thought of the faculty to make knowledge useful, though useless knowledge may be in many ways worse than ignorance. An illiterate man may plough, but there is no place in a sane scheme of things for the uneducated scholar who has lost the use of his hands without finding a use for his head.

Brilliant Blindness.

With such excess of learning and dearth of education, emotion dominates intellect instead of being governed by it; and feeling, stereotyped in “eloquence,” passes for thought, blinding “brilliant” men from generation to generation. For instance, taught to read history but not to understand it, they scream learnedly about grievances, but seldom or never suggest a constructive remedy; they are ever ready to fight about land, but never to make use of it. Dublin is filling with such brilliantly unbalanced minds, and I know University men who teach that “Ireland can come to nothing until the British Empire is smashed.” This doctrine was asserted recently in a public speech by

* “Pat” is the author of “Economics for Irishmen,” a small shilling book to which frequent allusion has recently been made in Parliament and in the Press. This brilliant young writer was the editor of an Irish newspaper called the “Irish Peasant,” until it was discovered that he was trying to persuade the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland to confine their energies to spiritual matters, and to leave politics and other temporal questions to laymen. Thereupon the clergy made a “dead set” at the paper; the parish priest publicly objected to it, a bishop tried to prevent its publication—but in vain. Finally, Cardinal Logue came to the rescue and insisted on the dismissal of the editor, who is now at liberty to tell some plain home truths about Ireland to our readers.

Mr. John Sweetman, formerly a Nationalist M.P., now Chairman of the Meath County Council, and a wealthy leader of the **Sinn Fein** movement. When a nation announces her desire of strength and growth as a menace to her neighbours, the need is thereby created for the neighbours to keep her as weak as possible always; but such is the manner of mind that can be produced by University education in Ireland, where strength is so small and decay so great, that menace must invite contempt. In so far as Ireland threatens the Empire, concessions to her can be made only on the ground of despising her weakness; but the applause of a mob seems to be more to the leaders of **Sinn Fein** than the good of a nation.

Education v. Learning.

That is only the mischievous side of what they call "Education"; the useless side is still more obvious. There are two Universities, with five University Colleges, continually pouring out their "finished" products; yet the educated men who make careers, or even a living, are strikingly rare in the country. Where do they go? Why do they go? They are so finely learned that they cannot see anything to do at home, with such opportunities before their eyes; so thoroughly uneducated that they can make no use of their learning. The cost of educating them is as truly a loss to the country as the cost of raising them. Even Trinity College is occupied largely in producing theologians for export, and the Catholic Colleges afford a still lower level of capacity to live at home, in proportion to the cost of producing it. The main value of "the degree" is still its ornamental attraction, and the Colleges have hardly been considered at all in relation to the wealth locked away in Nature, by which whole communities and new cities might live and grow. Only a month ago an English engineer, a graduate of London University, caused great astonishment by going up a flue in a Dublin factory. I know something of cities in other countries, but I know no city like Dublin for charming, highly cultured uselessness.

The Force of Example.

That being the dominant characteristic of University education, is it any wonder that the higher schools which prepare people for the Universities should be dominated by the same characteristic? A boy on his way through a public school to a University must deal in the things calculated to make him at home when he gets there. As the higher school looks up to the University, so the elementary school looks up to the higher school; and we find the learned and the ornamental rather than the intellectual or the useful at every point from top to bottom. While it is an essential business of the primary school in other countries to teach people how to work, or at least to prepare them for such teaching, the young peasant in the schools of Connacht regards education as a means to avoid work. I often hear the peasant parents asking, "What's the good of sending them to school when we know they have to spend their lives on the land?" And yet we have it on the highest authority that "No man can be too well educated to be a farmer." The application of intellect to the advantage of life makes way for decorative "learning" even among the barefooted youngsters of Mayo, who, to my personal knowledge, consider it a disgrace to work on their father's

little farms if they have done at all well in "the three R.'s." They have been taught not only to dissociate education from work, but even to regard both as opposites, which necessarily tends to separate the mind from the body, and direction from energy in the battle of life. Brought up to live by work, and to regard education as opposed to work, how could they make their schooling a means to progress? It is more often a way to the emigrant ship for them. Yet these matters at least, the standpoint and "atmosphere" in the school, are at the will of the managers, and the managers are mainly priests.

Can it be the system?

Let me say what the system is, beginning from the bottom, and let the reader be the judge. Primary education is carried on by the "National Schools," which are nominally non-sectarian and without tests, the protectors of minorities against playing with majorities. There is seldom or never any trouble in this connection, notwithstanding the "dangers of contamination" in a University. The Government provides most of the building; the parish (through the manager) undertakes to keep it in repair, though more often the teacher is made to pay for it out of his own pocket. The Government pays the teachers; the managers undertake their appointment, their control, and their dismissal, by "recommendation." In most of Ireland the managers are practically the priests, so that the schools are as sectarian in practice as they are non-sectarian in purpose. The local management is honorary; the Government pays for all administration. The total bill is as high as the total results are low: for the first qualification of the teacher is fear of the manager, so that if the teacher be a man of character and ideas, his life is likely to be an unhappy one. The post is more suitable to a man without character or ideas, who can be relied on to achieve the smallest possible amount of the poorest possible education at the greatest possible expense. Above all, the teacher must not attempt to evolve character in his pupils. That great work is for the manager, and the manager never attempts it; so that education is even more dissociated from character than it is from work, unless to twist and weaken it. The pupil cannot well be a hero where the master is a slave, and the master can hardly help being a slave where intellectual bankruptcy and terror of the clerical manager are essential qualifications to his appointment. This National School system has now been about 70 years at work, so that it is older than the Board Schools in England or the State Schools in America. The official regulations for the location of schools specify a maximum distance of a mile and a half to travel; on this basis, the total of schools required in the country would be between 3,500 and 4,000. But the actual number officially recognised and financed in 1904 is 8,710; that is, more than twice the number specified as sufficient for the much larger population of sixty years ago, showing that the Treasury has been as generous as the results of the expenditure have been bad. These 8,710 primary schools do not include a large number outside Government control but partly supported by the State indirectly. How do results so wretched arise from provisions so ample? The answer rests with the priest more than with any other. The practical value of systems in all things depends on those by whom they are controlled, and the National Schools might long ago have been made as efficient as they are now expensive and useless.

" Intermediate."

The Secondary Schools, under the " Board of Intermediate Education," are still more sectarian, accepting fees but relying more on earning grants of Government money. The purpose is to educate; the result is to " cram " for examinations, and precocious children are accepted gladly for their passing powers, free of fees, while other children, often with better brains in the end, are neglected. The practice is to specialise a grant-earning few, not to raise the educational average; and accordingly the Intermediate Schools fail to " feed " the Universities, as the Primary Schools fail to link with the Intermediate. What was meant to make a symmetrical whole, and might readily have done so, remains still in comparatively isolated divisions with the money wasted in the same proportion. Technical schools have sprung up of late in response to the money offered by the Department of Agriculture, but those in charge of the work complain that their efforts are largely wasted, because their pupils are not sufficiently prepared in the schools below, and this is the case where the priest is manager more than anywhere else. The Intermediate teaching has fallen mainly into the hands of monks and nuns, with the pick of the Primary Schools also, putting the lay teachers at a further disadvantage; and, as Protestants have not monks or nuns to work below the market price of teaching labour, the Catholics catch the Intermediate " plums " in an increasingly disproportionate degree. A Jesuit priest connected with one of these higher schools confesses to me that though the Catholics do better in the school, they are generally below the Protestants in the world afterwards; but the Protestants do not take any such pains to prevent education developing character as well as passing examinations.

The Universities.

Two Universities and five University Colleges would seem ample for a declining population of four and a quarter millions, but their work is hindered by the same agencies that spoil the schools, only in a still greater degree. The higher a man's education, the greater the desire of the cleric to keep control of his mind, and the required degree of bigotry can be maintained among the lower classes simply by parish threats. Trinity, an Episcopalian Protestant foundation, subject to tests until recently, could not well accommodate all Ireland; and so " the Queen's Colleges " were endowed, on a non-sectarian basis, to provide material for the Royal University, an examining body; but the Catholic bishops decided to denounce " the Godless Colleges," because they were not permitted to dominate them.

The Price of a School.

Those who want to know what the priest would like to do with a new University have but to consider what he does with the schools now under his charge as manager, and how he behaves to those who demand freedom and efficiency in education. Schools are still " sold " by the manager to the highest bidder, and I know teachers who are now paying off the purchase money by instalments out of their salary. He is in a position to " report " a teacher " confidentially " without even letting him have a chance of defending himself. The teacher's too small salary is always getting taken back for sacerdotal purposes; and should he

not give enough to the endless collections, he may have his pension endangered or diminished. As soon as the lad has settled on his career as a teacher, and years before he gets his appointment, the "back-hand" to the priest begins, in baskets of provisions when cash is less convenient, and the imposts never cease until the victim goes to his grave. I have known a pig sent to the priest in part payment of a school, and I have known the purchase money to be included with the cost of goods in a bill of exchange accepted by the teacher from a trading relative of the parish priest. These things are bad enough, and yet they are a trifle to the mental and moral slavery inflicted on teachers and pupils alike in the name of education.

The Liberty of the Press.

In one year, Cardinal Logue has caused the dismissal of two editors, the suppression of a newspaper, and the destruction of an industry that supported numerous families; and all this for no reason that can be seen except that the editors demanded "a voice for parents in the education of their children," leaving the fullest control to the priests over religious education. When brought to give his reasons, his Eminence specifically withdrew his charge of Anti-Catholic, admitting that he had no complaint against the editors or the newspapers on religious grounds.

There is now in New York a priest who left Ireland recently in the following circumstances:—After he had organised lectures in his country parish for several years, his bishop sent for him, and ordered him to "stop it." "Why?" asked the priest. "If you go on like that," replied his Lordship, "they'll soon know as much as ourselves, and we'll lose our power over them." The good priest is gone, but that bishop is still in "Holy Ireland," making the island impossible for all but slaves and cowards.

Individual Freedom.

I have given but a few examples from the scheme of things, educational and religious, and which "the Nonconformist Conscience" is now undertaking to develop and to finance under Mr. Birrell, a sectarian and a secularist by turns, according to the side of the channel on which he happens to speak. "The freedom of Ireland" cannot be achieved by Parliaments at Westminster or College Green; it is to be achieved rather in the Irish parish by the Irish themselves. Statutes, no matter how conceived or where enacted, are useless to a people who persist in accepting clerical dominion over their administrative institutions as well as over their minds and lives; and no power outside the will and character of the Irish people themselves can ever rid them of this organised terror. Broadly, the Catholics are the Home Rulers; and if they are in earnest about it, why do they not assert the first essential fitness of all civilised people for self-government, by putting their priest in his place and setting the secular faculties of the nation free from foreign ecclesiastical domination, to work out the national destiny? A nation's freedom depends essentially on the individual freedom within it, but such is the Irish national terror of the cleric that a Cardinal can still dictate the dismissal of editors, the suppression of newspapers, and the destruction of industries. This is the real work for **Sinn Féin**; but **Sinn Féin**, too, is in terror of the priest; threatening the Empire, but not daring to touch these tyrannies at home, which are the foundation of all the other tyrannies.

V.—DUBLIN CASTLE.

By Ian Malcolm.

WHENEVER an Irish orator is anxious, as he often is, to get a cheer from his audience, or finds his vocabulary failing (which occurs far less frequently), he can always fall back on the threadbare theme of "Dublin Castle." He has only to describe it, for the thousandth time, as a sink of iniquity; to refer to all within its walls as serpents or slaves or Castle hacks; to declaim against all its doings as acts of unparalleled tyranny and ferocity; to threaten it with immediate disaster—and the populace will forgive him all his shortcomings in other respects and cheer these observations to the echo! Now, whilst we are examining the case of Ireland in all its aspects it will be well to set out the Government of Ireland as it exists at present within the precincts of "Dublin Castle." To Nationalist minds the Castle is objectionable, not because it is a castle, but because it signifies rule which is not "Home" rule; it is the outward and visible sign of a "foreign domination," as the "patriots" choose to term the Government of the King. Yet in theory the Castle is to Ireland what Whitehall is to England: the seat of all the Government offices, the headquarters of the administration of the country; though, in fact, those offices are spread all over Dublin and only about half a dozen of the chief officials are to be found working within the Castle walls. "Down with the Castle" therefore means "Abolish all English control over the executive and administration of Irish affairs." For the information of those who have but a hazy notion of how the Government of Ireland is carried on, let me try to give some account of how this thing is done which is alleged to be so hateful, but which is in reality a most ordinary piece of administrative machinery.

The Government of Ireland.

Dublin Castle, then, is the official residence of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in whom all the functions of Executive Government are vested. He is nominated by the party in power, and the nomination is approved by the King. His advisers are the members of the Irish Privy Council, gentlemen appointed by the Crown and always of Irish birth, and the Chief Secretary, who must be a member of the House of Commons. In Ireland the Lord-Lieutenant is familiarly referred to as "The King," and the title is an accurate one in this respect, that although he is the Constitutional head of Irish Government, nevertheless the practical head is the Chief Secretary, who stands for the Government in much the same relation as the Prime Minister stands to His Majesty in England. The Chief Secretary is responsible for the administration of justice, and also for the general conduct of the Executive business of the country. His advisers are the Lord Chancellor and the Law Officers of Ireland (always Irishmen), an Under-Secretary, and the permanent official heads of a number of Public Departments.

These Departments, for which the Chief Secretary is answerable to Parliament, are as follows:—(1) The Chief Secretary's Office; (2) the Board of National Education; (3) the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction; (4) the Land Commission; (5) the Local Government Board; (6) the Royal Irish Constabulary; (7) the Dublin Metropolitan Police; (8) the Prisons Board; (9) the Reformatory and Industrial

Schools Office ; (10) the Registrar-General's Office ; (11) the Public Record Office ; (12) the Board of Charitable Donations and Bequests. (There are a certain number of very minor offices besides these which, whether they are hereafter amalgamated or not in some small scheme of "co-ordination," have really no important bearing on the question of the Government of Ireland.) It will be observed that all these Departments which I have enumerated have their counterparts in England ; most of the Boards mentioned have their constitutions, functions, and powers defined and regulated by Statute, whilst the authority of the Chief Secretary over the Constabulary (6) and the Police (7) is analogous to that exercised in England by the Home Secretary over the Metropolitan Police force. To make this statement complete, I should add that (exclusive of the Supreme Court of Judicature and the County Court Offices) there remain the Public Works Department and the Valuation Office, for which the British Treasury and not the Irish Executive is responsible to Parliament.

The Control of Education.

The reader will now see how very closely the administration of Ireland is allied to that of England in form and in fact ; he will also notice that in this matter, as in others, the "patriot" is agitating for preferential treatment over other parts of the United Kingdom. Especially anxious is he to get the control of Education into the hands of the National Council which the present Government would like to see established, and away from the existing National Board. Judging by the constant attacks made upon the Irish Board of Education (which consists of ten Roman Catholics and ten Protestants) one might imagine that this Board had done nothing but harm during the past half-century. To correct such an impression, let me recall the declaration made by the Roman Catholic Bishops in October, 1904, which has a material bearing on this point :—

"There is no sufficient reason for the adoption of extreme measures such as have recently been suggested. The National System as it actually exists is the growth of sixty years ; it has been gradually transformed from its original irreligious conception into a form which is in harmony with the actual conditions of the country. It has removed, broadly speaking, all religious strife and contention from the primary schools ; it has been widening year by year and improving its educational work ; and, although there are still many defects, we are convinced that these can be remedied under the present system without convulsing the country and perhaps throwing Education back for generations, especially if the appointment of Commissioners is carefully made and on educational qualifications."

There is little chance that, if the National Council should ever come into existence, such care in the appointment of Commissioners would be exercised. It is more than probable that no Unionist nor Protestant would be elected to that Council ; and it is certain that, if elected, the persons who held such views would form a microscopic minority of the assembly.

Control of the Police.

The "patriot" is also burning to get control of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and to place this magnificent body of public servants

under the control of a "National Council" composed exclusively (or almost exclusively) of men who, for a generation past, have openly threatened that when Home Rule gives the police into their hands they will "punish" that force according to their deserts. "Ruffians," "the enemies of Ireland," "the mercenaries of a hated garrison and the foes of the people" are the mildest of the compliments showered upon these loyal men by their disloyal compatriots!

What is the Royal Irish Constabulary? It is not too much to say that it is the finest police force in the world, since its constitution has been copied wherever a similar force has been required for Imperial purposes throughout the British Dominions. Since 1836 it has loyally served successive Governments in Ireland, standing solid for impartial yet rigid enforcement of the law, unmoved either by variations in British policy or by recurring outbursts of political or agrarian crime. It has always been recruited almost entirely from the farming classes of Ireland, embracing within its ranks men reared in sentiments of hostility to British rule. Time and again these men have been reproached by Irish M.P.'s for faithfully fulfilling their duty, especially when it entailed vigorous action in the repression of disturbance. Time and again they have been branded as "traitors"; yet their action showed that their oath as constables and loyalty to their officers ranked higher in their moral judgment than the ties of family or even the operation of their own personal sympathies. It is pleasant to be able to chronicle, for the information of Englishmen and Scotsmen, this unswerving sense of public duty. It existed in the days gone by, when local power rested with those who could be relied upon as country gentlemen and magistrates to back up the police in their arduous and sometimes dangerous duties. It was maintained when local power was transferred to men with little stake in the country, and to magistrates who are in sympathy with the worst classes of crime with which the police have to deal. It remains true to-day, when the police know that the local authorities are against them and the Government has tied the constable's hands by a weak administration of the law against the openly arrayed forces of disorder. These are the men who are to be betrayed by Act of Parliament, when the "larger policy" is presented to the House of Commons, into the hands of those who will visit upon them all the alleged sins of "Dublin Castle."

County Councils.

In conclusion, I have but a word to say on the Local Government of Ireland in contradistinction to "Castle" Government. In 1898 County Councils were set up, and Mr. G. Balfour (then Chief Secretary) said, "Will the Irish local gentry look askance at the new order of things and stand aside in sullen silence, or will they adopt the more manly part and seek from the suffrages of their fellow-citizens that position which no others are so well qualified to fill as themselves?" But Mr. Dillon, M.P., gave very different advice. "Let it be known beforehand that no man need come and ask for your vote unless he has proved himself to be a friend of the people by joining the United Irish League . . . and you will find that you have in the local elections an all-powerful weapon through the League throughout all Ireland." And the "Freeman's Journal" confirmed this view in the words: "In every County or District Council where a landlord, however amiable or personally estimable, offers himself for election, the answer of the majority must be the same 'No admittance here.'"

After eight years' experience of County Councils in Ireland the situation is the following:—

In Ulster there are 116 Unionist County Councillors and 135 Nationalists.

In Munster there are 2 Unionist County Councillors and 217 Nationalists.

In Leinster there are 14 Unionist County Councillors and 307 Nationalists.

In Connaught there are 2 Unionist County Councillors and 142 Nationalists.

In all Ireland there are 134 Unionist County Councillors and 801 Nationalists.

None but those who live in Ireland know what the Protestant and Unionist minority are suffering at this day for the faith that is in them. But, as Mr. Birrell said light-heartedly, they "must suffer, for it is the badge of their tribe."

VI.—LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

By "Pat."

League Government.

THE Board of Guardians and District Council, in their capacity as the local branch of the United Irish League, hold a secret meeting in a public house, with the priest in the chair, and, under his direction, decide what they are to do at the public meeting in the Board room afterwards, even to the appointment of a sub-sanitary officer. **That** is Local Government in Ireland.

It is not exactly so everywhere, because the United Irish League is not everywhere; but even where his reverence cannot dictate the administration of these political institutions through the League, he manages to get it done in still more effective ways. He adopts the League as his medium where it exists; but where it does not, he uses means still more to his taste, because they are still less subject to criticism. A shop-keeper who is particularly in his power comes into the Council with a resolution drafted for him, and whispers round that it is "the will of the clergy," after which it is "carried unanimously." In many cases the priest has had to do it because the boors have not known what to do at all. The ideal conditions for the League are where we find several factions in the parish, so that one of them may have the branch as an instrument to persecute another; I have known branches specially started to persecute particular families. Another need that brings a branch into existence is when a "sthrong man" has grabbed a farm, and so requires "a branch of his own" to defend himself in his grabbing and to pass resolutions for the local papers against people who have grabbed nothing, lest they find fault with him. Not long ago an official return showed that 184 officials of the League, not to mention members, were graziers and land-grabbers. The priest does not bother to start branches. He waits until they are started; then he controls them and through them the administration of the public bodies. **That** is Local Government in Ireland.

A Reverend Patriot.

It sounds incredible, but look at the facts. In 1905 the Swinford Guardians had to appoint a dispensary doctor for Kiltinagh, but the application and testimonials had to be submitted to Father Denis O'Hara, the parish priest of that place, who also dictated new terms and conditions for the new doctor which were admittedly contrary to medical etiquette in the country, and also in defiance of the Gaelic League. The same reverend gentleman opposed another candidate on the specific ground that he was a graduate from one of the Queen's Colleges—and yet it is argued that the opposition of the clergy has not injured these Colleges. If a man is to be denied the right to earn a living, on the ground that he comes from a particular college, and apart from his qualifications, how can it help being an injury to that college? Father O'Hara is looked up to as one of the "great priests" of the country; and **that** is Local Government in Ireland.

"A Laider o' the People."

The doles of Imperial charity to the congested districts in times of "famine," are administered through the Boards of Guardians, and two years ago a pretty example occurred in the same union of Swinford. A member of that famous Board was actually found levying a personal tax **per man per week** off the wages in the relief works, on the heroic ground that, as "a leader of the people" he had helped to "bring the money into the country." That might look bad, but there is worse. When the Local Government Board called on the Guardians to take notice of the levy, they "flung back the foul calumny" in the teeth of "the Saxon hirelings" who had dared to accuse their honour; and they continued to denounce the "libel" after every man of them had known the truth about their colleague's conduct. In the end, the facts had to be admitted. Those who get relief in such crises have to set down the number and the names of their family, and on one occasion it was found that a father had for some time been receiving additional relief in the names of his two asses. Another man enjoying something more than his share of the spoil explained that "The times wouldn't be half as good except for the famine." **That** is Local Government in Ireland.

Imprisonment as a Profession.

Mr. P. A. McHugh, M.P., follows the honoured profession of "goin' to jail for his counthry," but he is also editor of a newspaper at Sligo, and owner of a printing business in connection with it. In that capacity, he tendered some time ago for the printing of the local Council, at a price quite astonishingly above all other competitors, and above the cost at which the work could be profitably done. There was a majority in favour of his tender; and when it was questioned, the local orators defended it indignantly on the ground that he had been in prison. **That** is Local Government in Ireland.

Mayo County Council.

A brother of Mr. Conor O'Kelly, M.P., was made Clerk to the Mayo County Council immediately on the Local Government Act coming into force, and the muddle that resulted took a staff of special auditors from the Local Government Board many months to make an intelligible account at a great cost to the public. I quote the following pretty

resolution from the "Mayo News" of Oct. 27, 1906:—"At a meeting of the clergy of the Deanery of Claremorris, held on the 3rd instant, Very Reverend Archdeacon Kilkenny in the chair, it was proposed and unanimously adopted that as the conditions of the union, financial and moral, are essentially connected with the selection of a worthy clerk of the union, in succession to the late Mr. Stanley, we request the District Councillors to refuse their support to any candidate who will not produce a letter of character from the priest of his parish. The resolution was marked adopted," says the reporter, and so it was by the District Council, not one "leader of the people" daring to vote against it.

Where Character is a Curse.

The sequel to that resolution is prettier still. Mr. Conor O'Kelly's brother was a candidate for the post, but could not get the required "character" from "the priest of his parish"; and, in places like Claremorris, where such resolutions could be imposed on public bodies by priests, a man could hardly be guilty of a greater crime than to have a character of his own. With a character of his own he might get elected to a public post in spite of the priests, which would be revolution; that is why he must be so careful to hide his character even if he have one. A man with a real character insists upon thinking for himself and on expressing his own ideas, a course which might result in the laity taking lay matters into their own hands. Hence the need to manage the Schools and to control "Education" in such a way as to kill character, with the British Empire to back the scheme, and "the Nonconformist Conscience" extending the control of the priest over the Educational purse. **That** is Local Government in Ireland in its most essential form. Mr. Conor O'Kelly, M.P., had always defended the clergy, holding his seat at their sanction; he had more than once censured myself for daring to suggest that they could not be the fittest possible leaders for all life, from bacon-curing to Poor Law Clerking; but now he had to think of his persecuted brother who could not get his character, and so could not get his post. It was "a dramatic moment," and one which, calmly considered, might suggest a man's need, if not his right, to have a character of his own. But it was too late to think now of a problem that ought to have been worked out in the school in days long ago, when character might have been founded. It was very hard, bringing up men from their cradles without any character, so that they must depend on "the priest of the parish," and then refusing to give them any. Mr. Conor O'Kelly had "his blood boiling." He became articulate, eloquent; he called it "this terrible attempt at moral assassination." (See "The Western People," Jan. 19, 1907.) **That** is Local Government in Ireland.

Why must a man's life depend on the priest's opinion of him? Because the priests "educate" him to kill any character of his own, so that when they refuse him a character, he is "morally assassinated," with the "Democratic Liberties" of the Local Government Act as the reverend weapon for their work. If the brother of a Nationalist M.P., a "good Catholic," can be "morally assassinated" by the "priests of the parish," what of the average layman, who cannot have an M.P. for his brother to defend him?

Keeping out Protestants.

The afore-mentioned speech of Jan. 19 was delivered to the District Council and the Board of Guardians in the Board room at Claremorris,

whereof the speaker was not a member, nor had he any right to be heard ; but Very Reverend Archdeacon Kilkenny, equally without a right, was there also, and steadily called Mr. O'Kelly a liar. Said Mr. O'Kelly in that speech :—" A worthy and respected clergyman in the diocese explained the resolution of the priests to me. I asked him what the meaning of it was, and he said in reply, ' I understand it is only for the purpose of keeping out Protestants and people of that kind.' " Thus does the clerical cat leap out of the political bag at times when " our gifted young member " has his brother " morally assassinated " ; but our G. Y. M. does not bother about the moral assassination of other men's brothers, nor the effect of it on the whole nation.

Why so Coolly ?

I could give statistics, but I prefer facts. My examples are mainly from the West, but the condition is general. I have found the terror of the priest equally complete in the Local Government of Meath and in Queen's County, and I state nothing that I have not personally investigated. A Portarlinton man has been hunted out of his town and out of his country because he did not give up the Secretaryship of the Gaelic League at the dictation of the priest ; and where the priest can make it impossible for men to find employment, he can make them vote as he chooses on the Local Councils. This is the general condition throughout Ireland, except in the very Protestant parts of Ulster and in the bigger towns, where public opinion and human sympathy have some chance of defending the liberty of the individual. It is not so easy to isolate and crush a man of character in a town of ten thousand people, where the collective will can find some expression against tyranny ; but in smaller towns and in the country parishes, our " Democratic Institutions " are still clerical instruments against individual liberty. I have heard a priest declare from the altar :—" Any man that dares to vote against my candidate (in the Guardians) is a black sheep in the flock " ; which means a foul and monstrous thing, not fit to be touched by " the faithful." Yet the rival candidates in this case were both Catholics, and both Nationalists ; the difference being that the approved one was afraid of the priest, and the other was not. The cost of keeping these public bodies in order is very excessive, for they take a pleasure in defying the Local Government Board, thereby multiplying its work unnecessarily. Why do the British go on perfecting and subsidising this priestly dominion over us ? The method is peculiarly un-British. Why do the Nationalists persist in handing over their political liberties over to the will of the priest, if they want these liberties enlarged by the Imperial Parliament ?

I ought to add that Mr. Conor O'Kelly and his brother are thoroughly respectable men, and that not one priest has dared to make a specific charge, " financial or moral," against either of them. They were " darlings " so long as they were obedient ; but the moment they attempted to claim individual liberty they were morally assassinated. **That** is Local Government in Ireland.

(To be continued.)

IRISH DIARY.

1907.

February 1.—Mr. Long at Belfast ; Mr. J. Redmond at Waterford.

February 7.—Mr. Long at Towcester.

February 8.—Mr. Lloyd George at Belfast.

February 12.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Debate on Address. Speeches on Home Rule by Mr. Balfour, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and Mr. Redmond.

February 13.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Debate on Address. Speeches on Home Rule by Mr. Birrell and Mr. Long.

February 14.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Mr. Hayden's amendment to Address, on Evicted Tenants. Speeches by Mr. Birrell, Mr. John Redmond, and Mr. Long.

February 18.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Lord Percy's amendment to Address. References to Home Rule by Mr. Asquith, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Birrell.

Letter in "Times" from Mr. Ian Malcolm, on "Boycotting."

February 25.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Mr. W. Moore's motion for adjournment on Mr. Justice Dodd's appointment. Speeches by Mr. Birrell and Mr. Long.

February 28.—Letter in "Times" from Mr. Arbuthnot, on the "Working of Local Institutions in Ireland."

March 8.—By-election: NORTH TYRONE:—

Mr. Redmond Barry (Home Ruler)	3,013
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Mr. D. Henry (Unionist)	3,006
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Majority	7
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No change.

Mr. O'Brien's libel action against "Freeman's Journal" commenced.

March 12.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Irish Fisheries Debate. Speeches by Mr. Birrell and Mr. Long.

March 13.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Motion declaring Crimes Act violation of the Constitution, and expressing the desirability of its immediate repeal, carried by 252 against 83. Speeches by Mr. Cherry, Mr. Birrell, and Mr. Long.

March 14.—Letter in "Times" from the High Sheriff, County Tipperary, on "Crime in Ireland."

March 16.—Mr. John Redmond at Bradford.

March 17.—Mr. John Redmond at Liverpool; Mr. Dillon at Wolverhampton.

March 18.—Irish banquet at the Hotel Cecil. Speeches by Mr. John Redmond and Mr. Dillon.

March 19.—Speeches by Mr. Balfour and Lord Lansdowne to a Unionist deputation from Ireland against Home Rule.

March 20.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Debate on Lord Denbigh's Home Rule motion. Speeches by Lord Crewe, Lord Londonderry, Lord Loreburn, and Lord Lansdowne.

Deputation of Irish Unionists to the Duke of Devonshire on Home Rule.

March 21.—Mr. Devlin, M.P., Mr. Hazleton, M.P., and Mr. Kettle, M.P., at Queenstown, on their return from Australia and America.

March 23.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Primary Education in Ireland. Speech by Mr. Birrell.

March 26.—Lord Rosebery speaks at a meeting of the Liberal League at the Westminster Palace Hotel, and refers to the Home Rule proposals of the Government.

IRISH FACTS.

Vol. 1.—No. 2.]

[MAY, 1907.

CURRENT NOTES.

The Belfast Election.

The great fight between Unionism and Socialism in North Belfast has resulted in a striking Unionist victory. The poll was as follows:—

Clark (U.)	6,201
Walker (Lab.)	4,194

Unionist majority	1,827
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The defeated candidate declared that he was no Home Ruler, but the presence on his platform of a number of notorious Home Rulers from England was more eloquent of his aspirations than any words of his. Devolution and “the larger policy” have received a knock-out blow in Belfast.

The two previous elections resulted as follows:—

SEPTEMBER 14, 1905.

Dixon (U.)	..	4,440
Walker (Lab.)	..	3,966

Unionist majority	474
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JANUARY 18, 1906.

Dixon (U.)	..	4,907
Walker (Lab.)	..	4,616

Unionist majority	291
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The striking increase in the Unionist majority—over 1,500 votes—is of peculiar significance at the present time.

Mr. Morley's Views.

Mr. John Morley, M.P., the Secretary for India, in his election address, 1906, wrote:—

“I never can pretend to believe that any reforms in the machinery of Irish Government will be found a permanently effective or successful substitute for the policy of entrusting the management of Irish affairs to an Irish representative authority, with powers and functions defined by Parliament.”

This is a valuable admission from a member of the Cabinet that nothing short of Home Rule will satisfy the Nationalists. Consequently the Irish Council Bill will simply result in an absolute waste of Parliamentary time which might be better devoted to social reform.

No Settlement.

The Irish question will not be settled by the adoption of a "half-way house" policy. The Radical Government have got to give the Home Rulers the freely-elected Parliament they demand, and at the same time seek to calm Unionists in Great Britain by giving that Parliament restricted powers. The "*Westminster Gazette*" (March 18) has put the situation very neatly: that consistent supporter of the Home Rule Government says:—

"Mr. Birrell's task is to produce a scheme acceptable to Nationalists because it is not inconsistent with Home Rule and to non-Nationalists just because it is not Home Rule."

How Mr. Birrell will achieve this remarkable feat we do not know. Prof. Dicey ("*Unionist Delusions*," page 14) has put the situation in telling form:—

"The refusal to Ireland of a separate Parliament is the outward and visible sign of the unity of the United Kingdom. The creation of an Irish Parliament, endowed with even the most limited powers, would be an open acknowledgment that the Home Rule controversy had been morally determined in favour of the Irish Nationalists. No doubt the measure which embodied this provision might be filled with provisos, limitations, and guarantees; it might be called a compromise; but in reality it would be no compromise at all, but simply a surrender masked under the form of grudging and ungracious concession."

Lord Rosebery speaks out.

Lord Rosebery (Liberal Prime Minister, 1894–5), at a meeting of the Council of the Liberal League on March 26, spoke out strongly against the Home Rule proposals of the Government. He said:—

"Every Bill relating to government in Ireland must inevitably be read by the light of the speech which the Prime Minister delivered at Stirling in November or December of the year before last—words carefully and deliberately chosen, which must colour the whole policy of his Government. Moreover, since that time there has been no attempt at toning them down. There has been, on the other hand, a very considerable advance in the way of accentuation. Both the Prime Minister and the present Chief Secretary for Ireland, if I am not mistaken, have stated that they think that Ireland should be granted the rights of every self-governing Colony, which practically means an independent Parliament for Ireland. Well, I imagine that that goes considerably beyond anything that Mr. Gladstone ever indicated in any of his schemes, either in 1886 or 1893. I am also under the strong impression that whereas we are delighted to see self-government carried to the extreme of independence, united only to the Mother Country by the Crown, in Australia and Canada, it would be a very different matter when it is in a contiguous island which prides itself on the disloyalty of its public declarations." —"*Times*," March 27, 1907.

Lord Rosebery also referred to the Lord Chancellor's speech in the House of Lords on March 20, and said:—

"It went in the directest form for Home Rule of the directest kind. He split no hairs, he had no reservations except the old imagi-

nary reservation of a subordinate Parliament, which to a man of his strong common-sense must, I think, be a somewhat illusory one. He went quite as far as the Prime Minister or the Chief Secretary ; and I confess I read these speeches with some foreboding.”—“ Times,” March 27, 1907.

In the speech to which Lord Rosebery refers, the Lord Chancellor said :—

“ I cannot imagine, after the speeches of the Prime Minister, that there can be the least doubt as to what is meant by the larger policy. I do not speak of the term in any particular connection, but I suppose the Prime Minister is well known to be, as I am, a Home Ruler, *sans phrase*. I suppose it is well known that Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman’s purpose and policy have not altered since he adopted the views propounded by Mr. Gladstone. . . . The only Home Rule that I recognise is Home Rule in a subordinate Parliament. I do not recognise, and I would not support, and never would support Home Rule in an independent Parliament.”—“ Parliamentary Debates,” Vol. 171, col. 805, 806.

Separation “ Unthinkable ” !

“ **Separation is unthinkable.**”—Mr. Lloyd George, M.P., at Belfast.

“ **Those in Ireland who desire separation are an insignificant minority.**”—Mr. Bryce, M.P., at Newcastle.

The views of the Government are expressed above. Below are the views of Irish Nationalists recently expressed :—

At a meeting of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, held at Ballinamore, comprising the members of the divisions of Cavan, Leitrim, and Roscommon, and attended by Mr. T. F. Smyth, M.P., and Mr. V. Kennedy, M.P., the following resolution, among others, was passed :—“ That this meeting reiterates the opinion of National Ireland that no measure of reform which the English Government may introduce, will ever satisfy this country except one which gives us the right to manage our own affairs. That we claim this, not as a privilege or mercy, but as a legitimate right, and **that nothing short of a full measure of legislative independence will ever satisfy this country.**”—“ Roscommon Herald,” March 30, 1907.

MR. DAVID SHEEHY AT ARDCATH :—

“ All down through the history of the connection of England and Ireland there is only one thing that caused an adder-like pain in the breasts of Irishmen, and that was the abominable rule of England. Many were the means adopted to crush it. We in our times have raised a new revolt—a new organization against the power of England. We had no army to meet her in the open field, but we had the power of organisation that Charles Stewart Parnell initiated and brought to a head. We are coming to the close of the struggle. We do not know the value of the promises of the Government. But we do know that the power that has extracted the declaration that they will deal with this question and give us a measure in accordance with our views—the power of combination—will again be efficacious and will never diminish its efforts to regain the freedom of our native land.”—“ Drogheda Independent,” March 30, 1907.

A Treasonable Resolution.

Readers who wish to be aware of the spirit which animates local councils in Ireland will find a valuable example in the following resolution passed by the Mayo County Council during the South African War, and reported in the Nationalist press of December 4, 1899.

Mr. Conor O'Kelly presided, a Justice of the Peace, since become a Member of Parliament, and recently appointed by the present Government to be a member of the Royal Commission on Congestion. The resolution passed was as follows :—

“That we, the members of the Mayo County Council, the first representative body of Mayo, congratulate the gallant Boers on their brilliant defeats of the troops of the pirate Saxon. That we hope that a just Providence will strengthen the arms of these farmer-fighters in their brave struggle for their independence, and we trust that, as Babylon fell and as Rome fell, so also may fall the race and nation whose creed is the creed of greed and whose god is the god of mammon.

“(2) That we are further proud that in the great and memorable struggle are to be found in the fighting lines of and for freedom men of our own country, and we trust that Messrs. Blake and M'Bride will uphold the reputation gained by Irishmen on many a hard-fought field. That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Dr. Leyds, the Transvaal representative in Europe.”

Many columns could be filled with similar resolutions.

Seditious Placards.

The following is a copy of an anti-enlistment poster issued in Ireland during the South African War :—

“SAVE THE MILITIA.

“The Irish Regiments, having been almost all slaughtered by being put in the front to protect the cowardly English, the Government is now trying to grab the Militia for fresh slaughter. The Dublin Fusiliers, the Connaughts, the Royal Irish, and similar regiments have **been wiped out**. The North Corks, the Dublin Militia, the Wexfords, the Clare Militia, the Mayo Militia, the Limerick Militia—these are all marked down for murder.

“The ignorant Militiamen are fooled with promises of being only wanted for Malta or the Channel Islands, and then, like the North Corks, dragged as prisoners on board ship, and hurried to South Africa to shield the English Guards from the bullets of the heroic Boers.

“Save the Militia. Let them know what is in store for them. Appeal to the priests not to abandon thousands of the poor to death and mutilation in a war of Hell.

“The curse of Ireland's martyred dead be on the Irishmen, priest or layman, who allows the wretched Irish Militia to be trapped into slaughter to aid the felon work of Ireland's tyrants.

“GOD SAVE IRELAND.”

The following is another specimen—this time from Limerick—
TRAITORS TO IRELAND.

Who are they ? They are the young men of Irish race and Irish blood who take the Saxon Shilling ; who enlist under England's Robber Flag ; England's Army is a Robber Army ; her moneyed men want Gold, and they want Irish fools to do the fighting.

An Irishman should be the last man in the world to enlist under England's bloody flag.

The Irishman who does so is a traitor and a coward.

Young men of Ireland, you were made for nobler ends than wearing England's red coat.

Shun the English soldier as you would a leper.

GOD SAVE IRELAND.

Taxpayers please note.

The "Sinn Fein" ("Ourselves alone") party in Ireland, who are responsible for the anti-enlistment campaign against the Army, are breaking fresh ground in the seditious propaganda, as will be seen from the following extract from the weekly organ, "Sinn Fein" (March 30, 1907):—

"As to the Telegraph Messenger Service in Dublin, we advise Dublin parents to keep their children out of it at any cost. It has been for some years past worked to the end of forcing the boys into the British Army, and even for the boy who is strong enough to resist, it is injurious, since it throws him out on the world at an age when it is generally too late for him to begin learning a trade."

Putting on the Screw.

The endeavours of the Irish Nationalists to raise money in Ireland for their Parliamentary Fund may be judged from the following reports of meetings of branches of the United Irish League:—

COLLOONEY BRANCH.—"A discussion took place *re* the fixing of the date on which the collection for the Parliamentary Fund would be held. It was unanimously agreed upon that the first Sunday in March would be the most appropriate time. The collection will be held at the chapel gate before both Masses, as the Rev. Dr. Conington has kindly given his consent. **Everybody is expected to come forward with their contribution.**"

KILLASNETT BRANCH.—"It was decided to open the collection for the Parliamentary Fund on March 3, when it is hoped that everyone will subscribe generously. . . Some people who did not contribute last year have no excuse on the present occasion. . . Collectors will call at the houses in the different townlands of the half-parish to get the subscriptions from anyone who does not pay on March 3."

KNOCKNAREA BRANCH.—"There were a few who sent in their subscriptions to the Parliamentary Fund. We expect that all those who promised to pay to this most deserving object will do so at the earliest opportunity, as we intend to have the names of subscribers published in the 'Sligo Champion.'"

BUNNINADDEN (JOHN O'DOWD) BRANCH.—"Owing to the fact that the Peter's Pence collection was, later on, announced for the same day (February 17), it was eventually decided . . . to postpone the collection for the Parliamentary Fund to Sunday, March 3, when it is confidently

expected that the people of this parish will, with characteristic generosity, make this collection an unprecedented success."—"Sligo Champion," February 23.

These are only a few from a numerous collection of similar reports.

The League at Work.

English and Scottish readers should be made to realise the tyranny the United Irish League exercises through its branches throughout many districts of Ireland. The following examples are taken from one issue alone of the "Connaught Leader" (March 30, 1907). Such incidents as appear below occur weekly and are reported openly in the local papers.

"KILCHREEST BRANCH.

"Henry Haverty, a member of the Committee, being accused of buying some young pigs from an unpopular man in Killeenadeema, said, that at the time he bought them he was honestly under the impression that the unfortunate man was free from all blame, owing to his having surrendered the grass farm in his possession, otherwise he would have had nothing whatever to do with him. This apology, which was made with the greatest humility, was, under the circumstances, deemed satisfactory.

"KILMEEN BRANCH.

"Mrs. Geoghegan came before the meeting to announce to the Committee that she had unconditionally surrendered the grass farm she held at Hollyhill. She requested them to aid her out of the many difficulties obnoxious people are placed in.

"The Committee decided that she should give her handwriting as a guarantee that she would not again retake the farm on account of a mock surrender she made on a previous occasion, as it suited her; also that she would compensate the branch by paying them the sum of £5. This she did, with good grace, and at her request was recommended to the Tynagh Branch of the U.I.L., of which she wished to become a member.

"TYNAGH BRANCH.

"The first business taken up by the Committee was a letter from the Kilmeen Branch stating that Mrs. Geoghegan, of Shangarry, had surrendered her farm which she held at Hollyhill, and that the decision of the Kilmeen Branch was that she would have to pay the sum of £5 and sign her name to a pledge that she would not again retake the farm. She consented to do this and was handed a letter recommending her to the Tynagh Branch, so as to become a member of the League.

"Mr. P. Shiel said he thought they were entitled to £5 as well as the men of Kilmeen.

"Mrs. Geoghegan (who was present) said he should talk more reasonably.

"A member said it would be no joke to make her pay £5.

"Mr. Lawless said he thought £1 enough.

"Mrs. Geoghegan said there was nothing against her and they should deal more leniently with her. She did not see why she should be treated so badly.

"Mr. Purcell said if it was a man they would be harder on him.

"Mr. Fell said that for the sake of peace in the parish they should settle it quietly.

"Mrs. Geoghegan said she would do as Mr. Lawless had suggested, pay £1, and thought it would be unreasonable to ask her to pay any more.

"Some of the Committee were for getting £5, others for £3, £2, and £1. On a poll being taken it was decided by a majority of six that she pay £2, which she handed in."

When Mr. Redmond becomes Prime Minister of Ireland, as it is stated publicly he will be, as soon as the Radical Government can get their Home Rule Bill passed, the powers and prestige of the United Irish League will undoubtedly be enormously increased. Can there be doubt that the League will be used to crush the minority who venture to oppose Mr. Redmond's rule, just as to-day it seeks to terrorise all who disobey their commands?

What Boycotting means.

Mr. Birrell, replying to a question by Mr. Walter Long, has defined the degrees of boycotting with an exactness which should prove instructive to Unionists.

"Serious cases of boycotting are those in which the boycotted person's means of livelihood are affected, as by the refusal to sell provisions to him in local shops, the refusal of labourers to work for him, the refusal of neighbours to buy from or sell to him, and such like. When several such conditions prevail, and the person is gravely affected, the person is regarded as wholly boycotted. When the circumstances are not so grave, but the person is still seriously affected, the case is regarded as one of partial boycotting.

"When the boycotting consists of petty isolated acts, as distinguished from organized or sustained boycotting, or when an attempt is made to boycott, but the effect is inappreciable, the case falls within the third category mentioned.

"There were, on March 1, three cases under the head of wholly boycotted, and seven under that of partially boycotted. The number of cases in which persons were boycotted in a minor degree, or in which attempts were made to boycott, was 73."

Nationalist Land Confiscation Bill.

The Irish Nationalist Land Bill, which was read a second time on April 19, is a measure the importance of which to taxpayers in Great Britain should not be neglected. In the belief that the Land Act of 1903 was to be a final settlement of the question, British taxpayers consented to a loan to Ireland of £100,000,000, and to a further gift of £12,000,000. Now the Nationalists claim, **and the Liberal Government agrees**, that the Act of 1903 was only an instalment leading up to "the larger policy" of compulsion. All the material factors in the arrangement of 1903 are attacked: the zone system is abolished; compulsion is to be applied where three-fourths of the tenants desire to purchase; and the grazing system is to be stamped out by declaring that lands let on the eleven months system—under which grazing lands are now let—shall be held "untenanted lands," and as such to be acquired by the Estate Commissioners.

The Nationalists aim at the extinction of graziers and landlords in Ireland. They make no secret of it: their Bill has it as its purpose. They deliberately override the compromise arrived at four years ago: their aiders and abettors are the Liberal Government! They are mistaken if they think the British taxpayer will allow his money to be used for their schemes of plunder.

Hopes v. Facts.

Hopes.

"They believed that if they showed the juries throughout the country that they were to be trusted, and that they were really made responsible to preserve law and order, they would respond to that appeal and do their duty."—Mr. Cherry, Attorney-General for Ireland, House of Commons, March 13, 1907.

Facts.

Lord Chief Baron at Assizes at Clonmel:—

(1) "His Lordship directed Scannell to be discharged, and, addressing the jury, said, 'I would like to be tried by you, gentlemen, if I am ever tried in my life.'"

(2) Again:—

"I beg to express my opinion, as a result of the last case I tried, and of the present case, that female virtue receives no protection from jurors in this country."

—(See "Times," March 14.)

Two other cases are to the same effect.

In what is known as the Brady case, a mob of 700 persons swooped down on seven policemen who were protecting two boys carrying home provisions.

The Judge said that the evidence was about the plainest that could be laid before the jury. The counsel for the defence warned the jury that the people of the country were looking with admiration towards those prisoners. That was enough for the jury. **They refused to convict the prisoners.**

Another case—called the Tonlague Case—the mob set on a herd of cattle that was being sent to a farm, the tenant of which had been denounced by the United Irish League. The mob cruelly beat the poor dumb brutes with sticks, and drove them away. The police fully identified nine persons, who were placed on trial.

No evidence was offered for the defence, and Mr. Justice Kenny pointed out that there was no question of the prisoners' guilt, but after two trials, **the jury found the prisoners not guilty.**

From an answer by Mr. Cherry, the Attorney-General for Ireland, to a question by Mr. C. Craig, we get another valuable illustration of Nationalist "justice." It appears that in the Clare shooting case lately tried at the Limerick Winter Assizes, the Crown Solicitor ordered no less than 45 jurors to stand aside. The reason for challenging so many was that an extensive canvass of the jurors by friends of the prisoner had taken place, and that it was necessary to exclude from the jury persons who were believed to have been influenced by this improper action.

Police Protection in County Kerry.

The condition of County Kerry under the rule of the United Irish League may be gathered from the following remarks of the Lord Chief Justice at Tralee, on the opening of the Assizes. His Lordship, in the course of his charge to the Grand Jury, said:—

"I regret to say that there are a considerable number of people under police protection. There are thirteen persons under constant police protection—protection by police living in the houses of these people, or living in huts immediately contiguous, and the object of the protection is to shield them against outrage. There

are eleven people protected by occasional patrols—that is to say, by police coming from the neighbouring barracks or from certain constabulary huts. Now, the fact of the existence of so many people being under police protection, the necessity for this protection, is unquestionably **an ugly feature**. . . —“Kerry Sentinel,” March 20.

“A Disgrace to Civilization.”

Here is the opinion of a District Inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary with reference to the condition of the district around Ballinageeragh, in County Cork. For some time past the police have been trying to arrest a number of men on a charge of riot at an eviction. On April 4 two patrols were serving summonses in a charge where **a woman had been assaulted for serving the police with milk**. Whilst so engaged they saw two of the men concerned in the riot referred to, and against whom they had warrants, working in a field. The police arrested these men. Immediately a crowd gathered and attacked the police, injuring some, and so seriously disabling one constable that he is still in the hospital. The men were rescued. Four of the men concerned in the attack on the police were arrested and brought before the Justices at Petty Sessions on April 10. The Magistrates adjourned the case and allowed the prisoners out on small bail. The Resident Magistrate and District Inspector strongly protested, the latter declaring in open Court that the district was “a disgrace to civilization.”

State of Co. Cork.

From the following report of a case (*Pope v. Lucy*) in the King’s Bench, Dublin, our readers will be able to form some conclusion as to the condition of Co. Cork under the administration of the present Government:—

Mr. E. V. Longworth applied for an order for substitution of service. The affidavit of the plaintiff’s solicitor, he said, disclosed an extraordinary state of affairs. He swore that it was impossible for him to effect service of the writ on the defendant owing to the disturbed state of the district in which the defendant lived—the parish of Inchigeela, Muskerry West, Co. Cork. The action was brought to recover £72 0s. 6d., rent due to the plaintiff. On April 3 he wrote to the Civil Bill Officer of the district, and by return of post received the following reply:—

Inchigeela, 4th April, 1907.

Sir,—I don’t serve writs between landlord and tenant for rent.—
Yours respectfully,

JAMES BROWN, C.B.O.

Plaintiff’s solicitor subsequently put the matter into the hands of another process server, residing in Macroom, from whom on April 7 he received the following reply:—

Macroom, 7th April, 1907.

Pope v. Several.

Sir,—Owing to the disturbed state of this part of the county, I could not serve writs for rents. I am sorry that I can’t do it, but my life would be in danger, as the people are mad in this part of the county. I shall be happy to attend to any other business at any time.—Your obedient servant,

EDWARD COLLINS, C.B.O.

—“Cork Constitution,” April 17.

"Coercion" by Mr. Birrell.

The "patriots" of Roscommon are denouncing the Home Rule Government with a wealth of language. Mr. Birrell dared to draft to Elphin (Co. Roscommon) a strong force of police to preserve order during a demonstration of Mr. Redmond's League against the graziers on March 31.

The local branch of the United Irish League had passed a resolution calling on the graziers by name not to renew their tenancies, and in the event of refusal, threatening them "that practical steps will be taken to induce them to relinquish their hold of these ranches."

It was in anticipation of these "practical steps" that the Home Rule Government strengthened the local police force. When the United Irish Leaguers started on their march to the first farm, the tenant of which they desired to intimidate into submission, they found the way barred by a strong force of police, with instructions to refuse them passage.

An indignation meeting was immediately held, which was addressed by Mr. Cogan, an organiser of the United Irish League. He gave his audience to understand that there would be a warm time for Mr. Birrell over the matter.

"When Parliament assembles," he said, "we will have this matter thrashed out, and we will show Dublin Castle and its satellites that we are prepared to carry on the fight, and will until the grazier and grabber are driven from the soil, when you will see the policemen with green jackets, and the Parliamentary party in College-green, with John Redmond at their head."—"Midland Reporter," April 4.

We learn that since the meeting large bodies of police have been watching at night the grazing farms in the district.

Local Government in Ireland.

From the "Irish Times" (April 3) we take the following interesting illustration of Nationalist rule in Ireland:—

"At the weekly meeting of the Ballina Board of Guardians yesterday the question of appointing a substitute for Dr. Laing, Medical Officer of the Ballina Dispensary District, who is at present ill, was discussed at length. Dr. Isaac Clarke offered to do duty at £4 4s. a week.

"Mr. M. J. Melvin, J.P., said they would not appoint Dr. Clarke, because his uncle was one of the 'grabbers' of Crannagh Farm, and until such time as he gave it up Dr. Clarke would get no appointment there.

"Mr. M. Davis said the grabbing of the Crannagh Farm had created great annoyance, and Dr. Clarke must give an undertaking that he would use his influence with his uncle with a view to making him give up his portion of the farm. (Hear, hear.)

"Mr. Melvin (loudly): He must give up the 'grabbed' lands, and there will be no child's play about it.

"Mr. Davis: This business of Crannagh Farm will be a fight to a finish.

"Several Guardians said they would decline to appoint Dr. Clarke unless his uncle gave up the farm.

"Dr. Clarke then said he would endeavour to persuade his uncle to give up the farm, and after a long discussion he was appointed *locum tenens* on those conditions."

The Crannagh Outrage.

Notwithstanding the **constant** protection afforded by Mr. Birrell to Mr. Patrick Keane and other tenants of the Crannagh Farm (Co. Mayo), the United Irish League has been successful in making matters "hot" for Mr. Keane, in accordance with the advice given at a recent public meeting held under the auspices of a local branch of the League.

Mr. Keane's offence is that he has become the tenant of the Crannagh Farm, from which two tenants were evicted some time ago. Mr. Keane, by his action, contravened the orders of the United Irish League, which had declared that the farm should remain derelict until the two evicted tenants were restored.

He has consequently incurred the hostility of the League. Over 3,000 persons were present at a recent demonstration for the purpose of intimidating Mr. Keane. The speakers were, among others—Mr. David Sheehy, M.P., and Mr. Dermot O'Brien, one of the paid organizers of the League. Inflammatory speeches were delivered.

The inevitable result took place on Sunday (March 17), St. Patrick's Day. Mr. Keane, and others who were obnoxious to the League, were proceeding to attend Mass at the Roman Catholic Chapel at Ardagh. At the chapel gate they were met by a large crowd, and were refused admittance to Divine Service, amid riotous cries of "No grabbers wanted here." Mr. Keane and his companions protested against such treatment. They were attacked by a number of people and seriously assaulted. They turned to flee, and were followed some distance by the crowd.

If Mr. Redmond's League can terrorise in this way under Radical rule, what power are they not likely to possess and exercise when Mr. Redmond has become the official head of the Executive, as he is likely to be if ever the Radical Home Rule policy comes into being?

His Majesty's Mails attacked.

A postman at Doura who refused to obey the orders of Mr. Redmond's organization, the United Irish League, and courageously carried out his duty in delivering his letters, some of which were processes, was boycotted and intimidated, so as to make his position intolerable. In February last he was set upon by the mob with such violence that he was only with difficulty saved by the police from serious injury. On April 10, a number of men were brought before the local Bench on the charge of unlawful assembly and riot. The Bench was composed of one resident Magistrate and six local Justices, **all Nationalists**. The evidence was clear against the prisoners, who should have been returned for trial. **The charge was dismissed.** The refusal of the **Nationalist** Magistrates to take this course cannot be regarded otherwise than a distinct failure of justice, and unless the Home Rule Government here take steps to prevent this defeat of justice by their Irish allies, it may have serious consequences. Attacks on Irish postmen who refuse to be intimidated into violating their duty are far from uncommon, and the Government ought to take immediate steps to prevent these outrages on the King's officials.

Outrages Unpunished.

On March 18, a postman was waylaid by disguised men near Inchigeela, Co. Cork, and robbed of a number of letters supposed to contain writs for service on the Grehan estate. In reply to a question by Mr. J. F.

Mason, M.P., Mr. Birrell (House of Commons, March 27) states that no one has yet been made amenable for the offence. Under the Radical administration of Ireland, His Majesty's mails are by no means safe. This is the third time since January that postmen have been robbed whilst on the King's service.

Another unpunished outrage comes from Co. Galway. Patrick Raftery of Knockrow, Kilchreest, has made himself obnoxious to Mr. Redmond's League by taking a farm, from which a former tenant had been evicted. On the night of March 8, 56 yards of wall, along the public road which bounds his farm, were knocked down. No arrest, Mr. Birrell states (House of Commons, March 26), has yet been made. Moreover, the South Galway executive of the United Irish League have ordered the herd on Mr. Raftery's farm to cease working for him.

In this way are men punished who dare defy the commands of Mr. Redmond's League. The Government would hand over the direction of Irish affairs to the control of Mr. Redmond and the United Irish League!

Moonlight "Medicine" and Mr. Dillon.

Colmanstown, near Athenry, has been the scene of another outrage. On the night of March 15, a moonlighting gang paid a visit to the residence of Mr. Browne, the steward for Mr. Vincent Smith, a landlord who refuses to be intimidated by the United Irish League, and fired six gunshots into his apartments.

This is one of a series of outrages which have occurred lately in the neighbourhood of Athenry. The house of a Mrs. Ryan was fired into, and threatening notices have been posted up calling on people to boycott her. Shots have been fired into the house of a Mr. Tierney, and a Mrs. Raftery has been injured by stones thrown into her house.

These incidents all tend to show that the district is in a disturbed and excited condition. Another incitement was the visit paid to Athenry on Sunday (April 7) by Mr. Dillon and other Nationalist M.P.'s to attend a meeting of the United Irish League.

From the "Freeman's Journal" (April 8) we take the following extracts from Mr. Dillon's speech:—

"I gathered . . . since I came to Athenry that there is a great deal of **impatience—I am bound to say justified, natural impatience**—at the slowness and the intolerable delay which is taking place in dividing the grazing lands of this part of Galway. . .

"We insist that the fertile plains of Galway and Mayo, from which your fathers were driven by this exterminating system of Irish landlordism, shall be striped up once more and given back to the people. . .

"You are impatient, and it is no wonder you are impatient, for with the expensive machinery of English Government in this country it takes years and years to do what ought to be done in a month. . .

"Stick together, and act together, bring to bear on the grazier and the grabber and the landlord the organized force of a united public opinion."

We find, then, that Mr. Dillon goes down into a disturbed area where outrage and intimidation are rife, and refers to the "justified impatience" of the people. Not only that, but he also urges them on to further efforts

by "the organized force of a united public opinion," a euphemism not likely to be misunderstood by the Galway men whom he was addressing. It is true that Mr. Dillon said a few words about not having "recourse to open violence," not because such deeds were to be morally condemned, but because "when we have recourse to open violence then they are too strong for us." The value of Mr. Dillon's advice was considerably discounted by the extracts given above, and it was rendered quite valueless by his comments on the following incident.

Two or three days before the meeting the police had arrested some men who were guilty of terrorizing some persons who were obnoxious to the United Irish League. The Resident Magistrate promptly called on them to give bail to be of good behaviour, and on their refusal sent them to prison for three months. Here, then, was an excellent opportunity for Mr. Dillon to emphasize his good advice about not resorting to violence. Did he support law and order? On the contrary; as the following quotations from his references to the case will show:—

"The business was worthy of the worst days of coercion."

"These men were tried and sentenced in Dublin Castle before ever they came here."

"Please God, we will soon have them back again, and I know that when they do come back you will give them a bigger reception than ever you gave us."

"So far as the justice of the case goes, a Russian Administrative Order is no worse than the order under which these men were sent to Galway Jail."

"A perfect outrage on liberty."

The sequel cannot be said to have been unexpected by those who have followed the relations between the Government and their disloyal Irish allies. Far from supporting law and order, the Government at once went "on the knee" to the Nationalist demands. In reply to a question Mr. Birrell said in the House of Commons, on April 17, that "he had been able to recommend to the Lord Lieutenant that the prisoners should be released at the end of 15 days." His only justification for such "clemency" was that the Statute under which they were convicted was an old one, and that no actual breach of the peace occurred.

No better illustration is needed to show the sympathy of the present Government with the work of the United Irish League, even when that League is engaged in breaking the law.

The Dismissal of Sir Horace Plunkett.

Once more His Majesty's Government has gone "on the knee" to the Nationalists. They have now dismissed from the service of Ireland the one public official in whom all sections of Irishmen, except the Nationalist members of Parliament, had complete confidence. Sir Horace was Vice-President of the Board of Agriculture in Ireland, and in that capacity was responsible for bringing into the country no less than £1,700,000 in payment for the produce of industries created by the Board. He had also the distribution of £280,000 a year of Government money, which he allocated to the satisfaction of all. But he was a Unionist, and for that crime alone he was thrown to the wolves by the very men who asked him to serve under the Liberal Government. This is a nice look-out for "Devolution," if capacity is to be shelved in order to find billets for political partisans. So think Messrs. Stopford Brooke and Channing and 26

other stalwart Liberals, who voted against the Government on the occasion referred to.

Protests against University Scheme.

The Government plan for destroying Trinity College, Dublin, and for establishing a new Roman Catholic College has met with protests from all quarters. Nothing, however, can be more striking than the unanimity with which it has been condemned by the Universities of the United Kingdom.

Replying to a question by Viscount Turnour, Mr. Birrell (April 25) said that he had received from the following Universities and Colleges in the United Kingdom protests against the Government policy :—

- (1) Senate of the University of Dublin.
- (2) Resident members of the University of Oxford.
- (3) Principals and professors of the Scottish Universities.
- (4) The University of Sheffield.
- (5) The Constituent Colleges of the University of Wales.
- (6) St. David's College, Lampeter.
- (7) Lecturers in the School of Medicine of the Royal College,

Edinburgh.

Such an array of educational authority in opposition to the scheme may well cause the Government anxiety.

Mr. Birrell's Idea of "Peace."

"The general condition of Ireland is peaceful."—Mr. Birrell at Halifax, April 26.

The following are some illustrations taken from Mr. Birrell's replies to questions in the House of Commons during the week ending April 27.

Replying to Mr. Abel Smith, Mr. Birrell said (April 22) that the police authorities have issued the necessary instructions to the local police to afford protection in all cases in which it is needed to His Majesty's Post Office employés. This question was put in view of the assaults on postmen and robberies of mails that have recently taken place.

In reply to another question put by Mr. Abel Smith, Mr. Birrell stated (April 22) that four men have been arrested at Athenry and remanded on bail on the charge of attacking and stabbing a Mr. Ryan, a bailiff and gamekeeper. The assault was committed after Mr. Dillon's meeting at Athenry on April 7. Mr. Birrell also said that an extra force of police is stationed in the district in order to provide for the preservation of the peace.

Replying to a question by Mr. Arkwright, Mr. Birrell acknowledged (April 25) that on April 4 two patrols of police from Ballinageeragh were attacked by a crowd in the course of their duty of serving summonses in a case where a woman had been assaulted for serving the police with milk, and that one of the constables was still detained in the hospital.

"Unionist Slander Campaign."

How much the Irish Nationalists detest the flood of light British M.P.'s are throwing upon the internal condition of Ireland by the series of searching questions that are daily placed upon the House of Commons' order paper for Mr. Birrell to answer, may be gathered from the fact

that their leading paper (the "Freeman's Journal") has christened it the "Unionist Slander Campaign." It is in accordance with the usual Nationalist policy to abuse one's opponents when the facts are inconvenient and cannot be denied.

Mr. Bryce, as Chief Secretary, up to the last played the Nationalist game. At Newcastle on January 15, 1907, he said that "the present state of the country is **very reassuring.**"

The latest recruit is Mr. Birrell. At Halifax on April 26 he said that "the general condition of Ireland is peaceful." More candid than Mr. Bryce, he went on to admit that "there are **one or two bits** of Ireland where there is, owing to causes everybody resident there knows, a good deal of local discontent and a certain amount of occasional disturbance, which causes anxiety naturally to those who are responsible for peace and order in Ireland." It is something to have got this confession out of the Chief Secretary. Mr. Birrell is evidently very angry at having to admit it. He certainly minimises the area of the disturbances. From the records that have been made, it appears that during the last four months disturbances, often of a serious character, have been reported from the counties of Clare, Galway, Leitrim, Cavan, Mayo, Roscommon, and Cork; police protection has to be given to numbers of people in Kerry; and a part of Sligo is also disturbed.

Mr. Birrell went on to condemn as "carrion crows" those M.P.'s who in the House of Commons have been asking him questions with reference to these disturbed areas of Ireland. Mr. Birrell's annoyance is perhaps excusable; no doubt it is very inconvenient to have to own up to facts of this nature at the moment when the Government are about to confer extensive powers upon the leaders of the organisation that is responsible for these outrages. The desire of the Government to keep the British electors in ignorance of these misdeeds on the part of their allies is doubtless very laudable from their point of view. They know that as the truth comes out, the effect of such disclosures will be to stiffen the backs of the British electors against the granting of any form of Home Rule to Ireland under whatever fancy name Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman tries to conceal his proposals.

Roscommon Riots.

Carrick-on-Shannon on Thursday (April 25) witnessed riotous scenes. The local branches of the United Irish League held a protest demonstration against the graziers who had stocked their "ranches." The police had been warned, and, with batons drawn, met the contingents who, with bands playing and banners waving, attempted to enter the town.

After considerable discussion between the leaders of the mob and the district inspector of the police, the contingents were allowed to cross the bridge and enter the town, provided banners and bands were left behind. That was agreed to, and the procession entered the town. Large droves of cattle were expected to pass through the town on that day on their way to the "ranches." No sooner did the mob see the cattle, than they set upon those in charge, and drove the cattle pell-mell through the town to the place they came from.

Lord Dudley and other members of the Royal Commission on Congestion, who were on an official visit to the town, witnessed the proceedings from the windows of their hotel.

More about Crannagh Farm.

"The aims and ideas of the Irish people are peaceful."—Mr. Birrell, at Halifax, April 26.

The system of intimidation and boycotting pursued against those tenants who took the Crannagh Farm (N. Mayo) against the orders of the United Irish League is still being actively carried out in accordance with the advice given by Mr. David Sheehy, M.P., to treat the tenants **"with contempt and scorn."** So terrible has been this campaign, that 14 of the tenants have surrendered to the forces of disorder and terrorism.

Only one tenant, Mr. John Haire, refuses to obey the League.

On Sunday (April 21) he and his family were escorted to Ardagh Roman Catholic Chapel by three policemen. When they entered, the whole congregation rose and left the building. Mr. Haire was groaned on his return home.

The ill feeling against him has been much accentuated of late, and he is under police protection night and day.

Ardagh Roman Catholic Chapel was the scene of an attack on Mr. Keane, another tenant of a portion of the Crannagh Farm, who was **seriously assaulted** whilst on his way to attend Mass. (See page 47.)

Threats and Treason.

Mr. T. F. Smyth, M.P., speaking at a meeting of the United Irish League, on April 7, at Hillstreet, in Co. Roscommon, gave the following advice to his audience:—

*"If the people were determined, any landlord could be brought to a sense of his duty by the farmers being loyal to themselves. The grabber was worse than the devil, as it was easy enough to get rid of the old boy, but very hard to get rid of the grabber. He was referring to the bog grabber, the grass grabber, and the house grabber, and **matters should be made as hot as hell for them.**"—*"Roscommon Herald,"* April 13.*

Later at the same meeting, Mr. Cogan, an organiser of the United Irish League, advised them to have their organisation up to "concert pitch," in order to show "the English Government there was behind the organisation a party who, if they did not get their demands, would enter into an agitation that would **shake the Crown on King Edward.**"

Speeches of this nature have a value beyond that attached to the speaker's name, because they show exactly what the Irish Nationalists are telling their followers to do and to expect. Speeches made in Great Britain by Nationalists are intended for exclusive consumption here, and the foremost object of the speaker is to allay British fears of the dangers of Home Rule. Take, for example, Mr. Redmond's declaration at Liverpool, on March 17, that "the motto of the Irish party might well be 'In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, and in all things charity,'" and compare it with the utterances, as given above, of his followers in Ireland.

A FOUR MONTHS' DIARY.

WORDS.

"Ireland must be administered so as **to enforce the law...** The law must protect every private person in all his private rights, and the right of property in land; it must preserve peace, even when both parties wished to break the peace, which is not uncommon in Ireland.

"We have not proclaimed a single meeting or prosecuted anyone for any speech. We have not done so because we have **not found any harm** in those speeches. We have not found that they inflamed the minds of the people, or that any disorder followed. The leaders of the Nationalist party have exercised their influence for good. They have exerted themselves to keep their followers quiet, and led them to avoid any breach of the law.

"The present state of the country is **very reassuring.**"—The Chief Secretary (Mr. Bryce), at Newcastle, 15th January, 1907.—"Irish Times," 16th January, 1907.

"Ever since the present administration came in it has relied upon the ordinary law, and with **most satisfactory results.**"—Mr. Birrell, House of Commons, 13th March, 1907.

DEEDS.

January—Co. Clare.—During month four outrages occurred in county, two persons being **wounded**.

January 6—Loughrea.—Windows of Mr. Larkin's house **smashed**.

February 3—Killulagh, Co. Westmeath.—Mr. Ginnell, M.P., **incites people** to outrage, saying:—

"They knew that in other places they had attacked the ranchers' cattle and had driven them off the land out on the road in broad daylight. They knew that they had got some trouble as a result. If those people in his constituency were prepared to take similar action, he (Mr. Ginnell) was prepared to accompany them any day or night; he cared not who disliked it. . ."—"Midland Reporter," February 7, 1907.

February 8—Craughwell, Co. Galway.—**Moonlighters** attack house of Mrs. Ryan, firing into the house, and stoning the windows.

February 19—Ballinagleragh, Co. Leitrim.—Postman set upon by band of men with blackened faces and otherwise disguised, and **His Majesty's mails robbed**.

February 19—Doura, Co. Cavan.—Postman **robbed** of registered letters.

February 20—Doura, Co. Cavan.—Postman who had delivered several registered letters in pursuance of his official duties, **set upon by mob**, and with difficulty saved from serious injury by the police.

February 24—Ardagh, N. Mayo.—Meeting held denouncing tenants of Crannagh Farm. Mr. Sheehy, M.P., present: advises people to treat the tenants "**with contempt and scorn,**" so as to force them to clear out. United Irish League official declared "The grabbers would never enter Crannagh Farm, even if the people were compelled to line the fences with pikes to keep them out."—(See March 17).

February 24—Creevemully, Co. Roscommon.—Mr. Fitzgibbon, Chairman County Council, incites his hearers to outrages, saying :—" They had eleven months farms in the district, and **they should see that the occupiers have neither ease nor peace** till they give them up."—" Roscommon Messenger," March 2.

February 27—Kilnamartyra, Co. Cork.—Party of constabulary attacked shortly before daybreak by a mob of fifty persons.

March 3—Lecarrow, Co. Roscommon.—Police stop mob from **terrorising** graziers ; scrimmage ensues.

March 4—Clare.—Lord Chief Justice, at Spring Assizes, says that " many parts of the county were in a **demoralised and lawless condition.**"

March 4—Leitrim.—Mr. Justice Kenny, at Spring Assizes, referred to the increase in " that **very odious form of crime**, intimidation, threatening letters, and notices." He continued :—" To such an extent has the **spirit** of lawlessness developed that in one of the districts . . . the postmen have been twice set upon, and letters forcibly taken from them. In these latter cases, I regret to say, no one has been made amenable, and when there is such a state of things . . . when the chain of terrorism was complete, no witness would give evidence and no jury would convict."

March 5—Leitrim.—Jury failed to agree in Brady case, where mob of **700 persons swooped down** on seven police who were protecting two boys carrying home provisions.

March 8—Knockree, Kilchreest, Co. Galway.—Wall bounding Mr. Raftery's farm **thrown down.**

March 11—Roscommon.—Prisoners charged with unlawful assembly and with driving away cattle, **beating them cruelly**, while on their way to Tonlagge Farm ; found not guilty by jury, after Mr. Justice Kenny had pointed out that there was no doubt of prisoners' guilt.

March 12—Police Protection.—Mr. Birrell issues return asked for by Mr. Walter Long, showing that 47 persons in Ireland were under **constant** police protection, 152 under " patrol " protection, and that the whole services of 109 police were taken up by affording protection to these unfortunate persons from the attentions of their Nationalist countrymen.

March 13—Craughwell, Co. Galway.—Shots fired into Mr. Tierney's house. Mrs. Raftery **injured by stones** thrown during an attack on her house.

March 15—Athenry, Co. Galway.—**Moonlighting gang** attacks house of Mr. Browne, the steward of Mr. Vincent Smith, a landlord who refuses to be intimidated by United Irish League. (See also April 7.)

March 16—Roscommon.—At Assizes, County Inspector reports that " There was a considerable amount of **veiled intimidation** in the county."

March 17—Ardagh, N. Mayo.—Mr. Keane (Crannagh Farm) and others attacked and **seriously assaulted** by mob whilst on their way to attend mass at Ardagh Roman Catholic Chapel. (See February 24.)

March 18—Doura, Co. Cavan.—Mr. Birrell said in House of Commons, with reference to this district :—" A case of arson, and several cases of boycotting, intimidation, and threatening notices have occurred, and these, in the opinion of the responsible police authorities, have necessitated the temporary **strengthening** of the police force."

March 18—Inchigeelagh, Co. Cork.—Postman **waylaid** by band of disguised men, and His Majesty's mails robbed. No arrest made.

March 20—Tralee, Co. Kerry.—Lord Chief Justice, at Kerry Assizes :—“ The fact of the existence of so many people being under police protection, the necessity for this protection, is unquestionably **an ugly feature.**”—“ Kerry Sentinel,” March 20.

March 27—Cloontuskert, Co. Roscommon.—Mob make a demonstration to **terrorise** neighbouring graziers. (See April 7.)

March 31—Elphin, Co. Roscommon.—Seventy extra police sent into Elphin in order to preserve the peace. With difficulty they stopped mob of 800 men from **committing outrage.**

April 4—Ballinageeragh, Co. Cork.—Police set upon by mob, whilst attempting to affect arrest of two men on charge of rioting. One constable **seriously disabled.**

April 5—Athenry, Co. Galway.—Police arrest men guilty of open intimidation. Police action denounced by Mr. Dillon, on April 7th, as “ **a perfect outrage on liberty.**”

April 7—Athenry, Co. Galway.—Mr. Dillon and other Nationalist M.P.'s attend meeting of United Irish League, and advise people to use “ the **organised force** of a united public opinion ” against “ the grazier, the grabber, and the landlord.”

April 7—Athenry, Co. Galway.—Mr. Ryan attacked and severely wounded by mob returning from Mr. Dillon, M.P.'s, meeting. The police force strengthened in the interests of peace.

April 7—Hillstreet, Co. Roscommon.—At a meeting, Mr. T. F. Smyth, M.P., advises his hearers that “ matters should be made **as hot as hell** ” for the grabbers.

April 7—Roscommon.—Mob of 2,000 people march past farms held by obnoxious persons, intent on **terrorising** them. Extra police on duty to prevent outrage.

April 8—Ballymoe, Co. Roscommon.—Mob, **armed with sticks** and other weapons, visit grazing farm, intent on outrage.

April 14—Elphin, Co. Roscommon.—Seventy extra police sent into Elphin in order to keep the **peace.** (See March 31.)

THE IRISH QUESTION.

[Articles I.—VI. appeared in the April number of "IRISH FACTS," which may be obtained (price 3d.) from the UNION DEFENCE LEAGUE, 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.]

VII.—"IRISH" IDEAS.

By Ian Malcolm.

IF Englishmen and Scotsmen are shocked, as indeed we should be, at the disloyal condition of the majority of the Irish people to-day, we have only our own indifference to blame. Rightly or wrongly, we are a nation which concerns itself with only one thing at a time; and whilst we have kept our anxious eyes fixed upon the progress of the South African War, or Socialism, or Fiscal Reform, we have entirely overlooked the seditious movement which has now attained such appalling proportions in Ireland. It is not to our credit, as a civilizing nation in every part of the world, that we should have permitted those whom we tax-payers employ to administer the affairs of Ireland to allow such a state of things to pass unnoticed and unchecked.

The Land of Leagues.

In a previous article it was shown that, by the present lack of decent primary education in Ireland, the natural growth of individual liberty of thought and independence of character in action has been sapped and destroyed. The Irish peasantry is appealed to, not through the medium of its intelligence, but through the channel of its emotions. Hence the necessity of herding congregations of men together, and of persuading them, when under the influence and pressure of companionship, to the adoption of courses against which the independent intellect would certainly rebel. To shout with the largest crowd passes for intelligence, as it is also a guarantee for personal security in the South and Western Provinces. Ireland, therefore, is riddled with leagues and societies, whose corporate resolutions are supposed to represent the personal convictions of their adherents. Their aims and objects must be carefully watched in order that we may discover what are the alleged aspirations of the "Irish people," and what are the "Irish ideas" in accordance with which it is proposed to govern the country.

The United Irish League.

There is, first of all, the United Irish League—the apostolic successor of the Land League, whose leaders were so emphatically condemned by the Parnell Commission. This organization was started by Messrs. Davitt and O'Brien in 1900, and is now in active operation all over Ireland. Its objects were frankly stated by a high ecclesiastic of the Roman Catholic Church, the Right Reverend Monseignor McGlynn, who declared at a meeting over which he presided that:—

"The United Irish League had for its purpose to unite the Irish people together as they were in the days of the grand old Land League."—"Freeman's Journal."

Mr. William O'Brien mentioned at the same meeting that:—

“They would soon turn the River Shannon into a Modder or Tugela.”

This “patriotic” community has the full confidence and support of the Irish Parliamentary Party; and although every kind of agrarian disorder is attributed to its malign influence, it prides itself on its preference for “constitutional methods”!

The Gaelic League.

These methods do not, however, appeal to young Separatist Ireland, who considers them slow-coach and ineffective, and cannot discover what good the Irish Nationalist members are to Ireland. Young Ireland is the founder of “The Gaelic League,” whose ostensible reason for existence is the furtherance of temperance, the Irish language, Irish industries, music, literature, and so on. It was said to have been started as a purely non-political association; but, within a very few months, its founder, Dr. Hyde, explained that the League was “in the wider and truer sense of the word a most powerful political and national association.” On no other basis could the following declarations have been made:—

The Secretary of the East Kerry Executive of the Gaelic League (July, 1905), said that “any man who became a member of the Gaelic League, no matter what his present views might be, would be changed after a few years’ membership into a Separatist, and anxious for the complete independence of his country.”

But a much more important person has furnished the world with his conception of the functions of this non-political association. Probably nobody in England has ever heard of Mr. John Sweetman; he is, nevertheless, a most influential person, who has the confidence of large numbers of the Irish people. He was once a Nationalist Member of Parliament; he is the elected Chairman of the Meath County Council, the Vice-President of the Central Council of Irish County Councils, and a leading Gaelic Leaguer. These are his words, spoken at a meeting of the “Catholic Truth Society,”—also a non-political body:—

“The English Government hates the Irish nation, as that of Egypt did hate the Jewish nation; and we must fight that Government with all the weapons that the great God has given us, just as Moses fought the Egyptians. (Applause.) We have no power to call the ten plagues of Egypt on the English. Would to God that we had that power. (Applause and laughter.) We can, however, boycott her manufactured goods and boycott her Army and Navy. Why do we not do so?”

Sinn Fein.

Out of the Gaelic League has sprung yet another organization called “Sinn Fein,” which means “ourselves alone”; and I want to impress upon English and Scottish readers the fact that these are no “hole and corner” societies—far from it. The membership amounts to thousands; they hold open meetings whose proceedings are fully reported in the Irish

Press, and their literature can be bought by anybody who desires to read it. Its objects can best be stated in its own words. It is to be:—

“A negation of the policy of howling at England. Instead of denouncing England, Ireland will proceed calmly and methodically to uproot everything English within her four seas, and put something Irish wherever something English has been up-torn. Irish ideas will substitute West-British ideas, Irish manufactures will inexorably oust English goods out of the Irish market. The speech, thought, and action of the nation will gradually become more Irish and less English; and day by day Ireland will stand out more and more before the nation as a distinct entity; self-centred and self-contained, and, of course, self-governed. . . . The Sinn Fein policy is a policy that has to a large extent grown out of the Gaelic League.”

On “Sinn Fein” the Mr. John Sweetman already referred to is a first-class authority; he is Vice-President of its National Council. He assures the world (see “Freeman’s Journal,” January 31, 1906) that “out of the Gaelic League’s de-Anglicising propaganda have already grown a series of movements, not only strongly political, but each and all making for a separate independent Irish Nation, freed from every link of the British connection.” Such movements comprise:—(1) The refusal to drink the health of the King, or to endure the performance of the National Anthem; (2) The boycotting of all soldier and police pensioners who seek employment from the county councils or municipalities; and (3) The anti-recruiting movement. Alas! these seditious operations have sown their seed, and the crop is appearing day by day. Here is an extract from one of a sheaf of anti-enlistment placards which are pasted in public places all over Ireland:—

“IRISHMEN!

“It is in our hands to refuse to enter the forces of the English Crown. Let us fight the battle of Ireland **HERE** on our own sod.

“Don’t be deluded by the wiles and false promises of the enlisting sergeant. Regiments of the British Army with Irish names, like the Connaught Rangers, Munster Fusiliers, Irish Rifles, or Dublin Fusiliers, &c., and are only Irish in their title. The man who joins them is an anti-Irishman. They are part of the English garrison holding Ireland in subjection.

* * * * *

“Hearken to the words of Father Kavanagh, the Irish Franciscan Patriot Priest, who pronounces it a heinous crime against Ireland for Irishmen to enter the forces of robber England; and he who engages in one of England’s unjust wars is guilty of deadly sin.

“Make a vow that you will not recognize or mix with any man who dons the livery of an Irish slave—the red or black coat, or blue jacket—and keep your children from mixing with this anti-Irish horde, the slaughterers of the innocent Boer women and children. They would not hesitate to slaughter their own kith and kin to-morrow as they have often done before to carry out England’s dirty work.

“You can assist in the uplifting of the Irish nation by refraining from entering the English forces. If you are an Irishman, you will be true to Ireland, and by refusing to take the cursed Saxon shilling, you will lend a hand in restoring your Mother Erin to Nationhood.”

Two Questions.

And here I close this painful subject of sedition rampant and unchecked, offering two considerations:—

1. **To Englishmen.**—Do you know any country in the world where liberty so abused is so freely exercised as it is in Ireland? Is such conduct likely to attract you to the “larger policy,” of which Devolution is but an “instalment.”

2. **To Irish Nationalists.**—No civilized country can submit to coercion such as this. The fact that you proclaim your ambition to smash England lays upon her the duty of seeing that you are unable to fulfil your threat.

VIII.—“IS IT PEACE?”

By Ian Malcolm.

AFTER Mr. James Bryce had been appointed British Ambassador to the United States of America he made a number of partisan political speeches in England and Ireland. Forgetting, let us hope, that he was no longer the Home Rule Chief Secretary for Ireland, he delivered an oration in Dublin which foreshadowed the destruction of Trinity College and the erection of a Roman Catholic College—a proposal which the whole of educated Ireland received with dismay. It was the wrong plan proposed by the wrong man at the wrong time.

He also went to Newcastle (January 15, 1907), and, after presiding at a dinner of the Gladstone Club, responded to the toast of his health in a speech adorned with all the inaccuracies which distinguished the patron saint of this Newcastle society. His knowledge of Ireland will be easily discerned by contrasting the fancies of the speaker with the facts of the case. For instance: “The disorder of which you hear so much is now practically disappeared in very nearly the whole country.”

Social Tyranny.

Can he have known the number of innocent men who are now under “boycott” at the instigation of the United Irish League at the present moment; men who cannot get the necessaries of life from their own villages, who are under police protection, next to whom no man or woman will sit in chapel? Or, is not this “disorder”? One week after Mr. Bryce spoke, a farmer in Monaghan claimed for damages for the malicious burning of a range of out-offices and the destruction of fourteen horses, three cows, three heifers, a bull, and a quantity of hay and other effects. The evidence disclosed that the applicant took, some years ago, the grazing of some evicted farms in the neighbourhood, and had ever since been subjected to much annoyance. He had received threatening letters in connection with his occupancy of the evicted land, and on several occasions when making hay hundreds of pieces of wire were found stuck in the ground, to the considerable injury of his mowing machinery. The fire which demolished his buildings, and which had so cruelly destroyed his valuable live stock, he attributed to malice. A police sergeant, in corroboration of this theory, produced a small bottle containing blasting powder, with a fuse attached, which he had found beneath one of the windows of the premises. After a patient hearing of eight hours, the judge decided that the fire was malicious, and gave a decree for £1,151, which he ordered to be levied off the district in which the burning had occurred. This is no exceptional case, and every land-agent in Ireland

can produce instances in which men are at this moment suffering bitterly for disobedience to the orders of the United Irish League. May I call attention to one more case under this head ?

By order of "The League."

At Mr. John Dillon's great Nationalist meeting at the Market Square of Ballinasloe, on Sunday, January 20, a large grazier whose case had become notorious by reason of his repeated denunciation by the local League branches, and by the chasing of his cattle all over the country, as well as by pending prosecutions in connection therewith, suddenly appeared, and "submitted" to the law and the demand of the League. He sought a happy issue out of all his afflictions—not by depending upon an unreliable Dublin Castle, but by mounting Mr. Dillon's platform and promising to give up the lands which he had purchased some time ago in the open market at an expenditure which ran into four figures.

"The meeting," states the "Freeman's Journal" report (January 21), "was of great dimensions, and a fine spirit of earnestness and enthusiasm was displayed. Not the least remarkable feature of the demonstration was the public surrender by Mr. John Beirne of the famous Tonlagree grazing ranch, situate in the County Roscommon. Mr. Beirne announced that he had surrendered his interest in the Tonlagree farm out of respect to Mr. Redmond, Mr. Dillon, and all the Irish party."

A different sample of disorder reaches me from another and perfectly reliable quarter. In the summer of 1906, in a small midland town of Ireland, the owner of some premises occupied by a general trader having in vain sought to procure peaceable possession from a tenant whose tenancy had expired, and who was over-holding, obtained a decree for possession. The writ was placed in the Sheriff's hands, but execution (except by a continued display of force) was impossible, because the over-holding tenant barred all means of access to the premises, and fortified the house with a large stock of defensive and offensive missiles. So at 5 a.m. on a summer's morning a special train steamed out of one of the Dublin stations, bearing some bailiffs supplied to the Sheriff by one of those agencies which exist in Ireland for the defence of property, and to perform tasks whose difficulty no one can appreciate unless he has moved in the thick of agrarian disorder. By the same train there travelled 100 men of the Royal Irish Constabulary. Arrived at their destination a surprise was effected, and the premises were captured. The bailiffs reported that the extent of the preparations indicated an intention to offer a riotous and possibly murderous resistance. And so the King's writ ran, but only because a force sufficient in numbers and armament to capture a whole town was sent by stealth in the small hours of the morning to capture a house and out-offices.

With these samples of "law and order" before us it is hard to see where Mr. Bryce finds any credit for his Irish administration.

"Peaceful" Ireland.

Again : Mr. Bryce boasted that "we have not had to proclaim a single meeting." Has he forgotten that in County Sligo a meeting was proclaimed in April, 1906, and over 100 police were drafted into the district to preserve order ? Has he forgotten his suppression of a meeting in Roscommon which was to be held in obedience to the following summons :—

"A Call to the Nationalists of Kilbride.—Men of Kilbride, come in your thousands on Sunday, the 11th inst., and show by your presence and determination that you are prepared to support the claims of the several evicted tenants of Roxboro' Lands that no grazier will, with honour and security to himself, lay claim to the lands from which your fathers and their predecessors were ruthlessly evicted without knowing that a united, determined, and a never-flinching people are prepared at any sacrifice to have the lands which were theirs before cringing slough of foreign origin, or manufactured lick-spittles or heelrubbers of our own ancestry, learned how to sell Ireland and Erin's children.—God Save Ireland!"

The exigencies of space, but not of material drawn from reports taken from Nationalist papers, prevent my multiplication of these instances for the information of English and Scotsmen.

Then, said Mr. Bryce, "We have not prosecuted anyone for any speech, because we have not found any harm in those speeches." In Ireland men wonder what Mr. Bryce would consider a harmful speech. Certainly not Mr. Conor O'Kelly's utterance that a certain grazier "should be treated as a grabber of the worst possible kind, and Sligo would become too hot to hold him"; nor all the seditious observations which are recorded daily from meetings of the "Sinn Fein" and Dungannon Clubs, which are enthusiastically cheered by their adherents and are not repudiated by that "Constitutional" association, the United Irish League.

"Devolution" for Rebels!

Once more, Mr. Bryce asserts that "The county councils have given us encouragement to believe that larger powers of self-government would not be abused." Let us take note of the action of the General Council of these same county councils. At the outset they determined that no political matters should be discussed; two years ago this resolution was rescinded and the Loyalist minority most properly retired from its deliberations. On October 18, 1906, this Council—formed for the sole purpose of administering local affairs—passed the following resolution:—

"That the Irish people are a free people, with a natural right to govern themselves, that no Parliament is competent to make such laws for Ireland, except an Irish Parliament, sitting in Dublin, and that the claim by other bodies of men to make laws for us to govern Ireland is illegal, unconstitutional, and at variance with the rights of the people."

If this is not "abuse" of their powers the English language has lost its meaning. And yet Mr. Bryce can find it possible to say—in the teeth of the foregoing resolution, passed by the representatives of a popularly elected body, that "Those in Ireland who desire Separation are an insignificant minority"! Why, at the very moment that he was speaking, an election placard was pasted on the walls in Dublin, signed by twelve members of the Dublin Corporation seeking re-election, in which they claim that they have hitherto been elected "to forward the Sovereign Independence of the Irish Nation."

"Separation" in Sight.

Finally, Mr. Bryce, as late Chief Secretary, booms the advantages of the Gaelic League and Sinn Fein when he refers with admiration to the "new outburst of patriotic feeling which is very encouraging," and

says that "One of the most wholesome crusades is the movement in the direction of temperance." Yes, wholesome and encouraging indeed, if the energies of their founders were confined to securing these excellent results. But when we read the statements, frankly and fearlessly made in every newspaper in the country, by men who glory in their desire for separation from England, and declare that this is the consummation of all their desires as members of these leagues, then I cannot help feeling that temperance and true patriotism are not the most powerful of these "Irish Ideas." But the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Birrell, is to be responsible for this new scheme of Devolution which is to lead up to the "larger policy" of Home Rule or Separation. Do the foregoing arguments and quotations give us any hope that if we wish to secure Ireland as an integral and prosperous part of the Empire, if we wish to save Ireland from the clutches of hot-headed agitators, we shall be justified in handing over her destinies to the tender mercies of the Gaelic League and Sinn Fein? Every evidence that we can collect from purely Nationalist sources goes to prove the falsity of Mr. Bryce's declaration that the Devolution policy will bring peace. If the Separatists accept the scheme at all it will be because it will bring not peace but a sword.

IX.—TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

By Ernest Ensor, M.A.

ALL English Churchmen are familiar with the words that occur several times in the Book of Common Prayer, "in all Chapels of Colleges and Halls within our Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, and of our Colleges of Eton and Winchester." For three hundred years additions and alterations in the Church services have been commanded for all Cathedrals and Churches, for our Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, and for Eton and Winchester. It speaks well for the peace and order of our country, for the love of ancient traditions and foundations, that this formula was used with the same fitness under Queen Victoria as under Charles I. or Charles II. It will be a strange England when destructive hands are laid upon Oxford and Cambridge, Eton and Winchester. But now His Majesty's Government, at the instigation of the Separatist party in Ireland, have announced their intention of making changes which will utterly sever Dublin University from its splendid traditions in the past, and make it helpless and degraded for the future. They propose to take away the charter which Queen Elizabeth gave to the "College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity," commonly called Trinity College, under which charter Trinity College and Dublin University have been one and the same; they propose to make Trinity College one of four colleges in a new University, for which they will steal the name of Dublin University. Trinity College, Dublin, is to lose her power of self-government, and to share and share alike in a new University, a Federated University, consisting of Trinity College, the Queen's College Cork, the Queen's College Belfast, and a new Roman Catholic College which is to be founded in Dublin. These three discordant bodies are to be thrust by main force into the University of Dublin.

The Penalty of Loyalty.

The whole scheme has been forced upon the Government by the Irish Nationalists and the Roman Catholic clergy. Because Trinity College

is loyal, because Trinity College is open to all religions, and not under ecclesiastical control, the Roman Catholic clergy and the Nationalist party have always hated it, as the one great abiding success of English rule in Ireland. Now they are at last in a position in which they can dictate to an English Government. Their very first demand has been the destruction of Trinity College, thoroughly loyal and mainly Protestant. Mr. Birrell, who was occupied all last year in his effort to secularize the English schools, to get "the Bible in the schools and the priest outside," devotes this year to the erection of a Roman Catholic College by State money, under the government of the Irish Roman Catholic Bishops, and to transferring to these Bishops at least an equal share in the government of Dublin University. Our University is at present governed by a Provost and about forty Fellows, of whom only four are clerics. Under the scheme which Mr. Bryce explained, and which Mr. Birrell is to make law, half the governing body will be Roman Catholic priests, or men appointed by Roman Catholic priests.

The Government produced their scheme three days after the publication of the report of the Royal Commission which sat through the autumn and winter upon Trinity College, Dublin. This Commission consisted of nine members. There were five English gentlemen well skilled in higher education, one Irish Judge (a Roman Catholic), two Irish Roman Catholic gentlemen, and one Protestant Nationalist, who is also the President of the Gaelic League. These gentlemen, to their credit, solemnly and unanimously declared at the beginning of their report that Trinity College was "a noble institution for the maintenance of sound learning." They made some suggestions about the internal government of the College and about the course of studies. Out of the nine Commissioners only four could be found to do what the Liberal Government desired. One Englishman (Sir Thomas Raleigh), two of the three Roman Catholics, and the Protestant Home Ruler added a note that Trinity College ought to be amalgamated with the Queen's Colleges and a new Roman Catholic College.

A Plea for Trinity.

But the Liberal Government was too deeply concerned to draw back. They are about to introduce a Bill taking away our charter, associating us with two inefficient provincial colleges, and making a new Roman Catholic College to have in all respects equal authority with the ancient foundation of Queen Elizabeth. This is done to conciliate the enemies of Trinity College by men who raged all last year against denominational education. But they believe in English indifference to Ireland; they believe that English people care nothing for that one of "Our Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, and of our Colleges of Eton and Winchester" which is separated by a three hours' sea journey. Englishmen might at least give a kindly thought to the only one of their institutions in Ireland that has thrived, that has trained men during three hundred years for the King's service, that has fought all that time against undying hatred in Ireland. Now the King's Government proposes to destroy it because it stood and stands in Ireland for the King.

Trinity College, Dublin, has more than nine hundred students on its books at the present time. It is entirely undenominational, except that it possesses a Divinity School in which are trained the men who intend to take orders in the Church of Ireland. Of the nine hundred students about one hundred are Roman Catholics. There have always

been Roman Catholics in Trinity College, and these students have always been men of good family and good social standing, who have thus felt themselves strong enough to defy the veto of the Roman Catholic priests. The middle classes, the people who most need University education, long to send their sons to Trinity—everybody in Ireland knows how keenly they desire it—but they cannot fight against their Bishops. They want to see their sons winning success in Trinity College, playing in the College park, associating freely with all kinds of educated Irishmen, free, for at least a time, from the dead stupefying effect of ecclesiastical pressure. For Trinity College is quite unique in Ireland. Every visitor to Dublin becomes acquainted with the massive Georgian front which makes Grafton Street so impressive, the large squares where the students live, the great halls, the many acres of garden, the cricket and football grounds in the midst, from which cheering can be heard all over Dublin's busiest quarter ; it stands a splendid monument of the great English Protestant Queen, though its Protestant prejudices have died away.

The Priests again.

Trinity College offered the Roman Catholic Bishops some years ago a site in the college on which they might build a chapel of their religion, with unchecked control both over it and over the religion of their students. The Bishops refused point-blank. They said, and they keep on saying, that it is dangerous to Roman Catholic youths to live and be taught in Trinity College. Unhappily there is no compromise possible. Englishmen and Protestant Irishmen mean by a University an institution where instruction is given in all branches of learning, without regard to the bearing such instruction may have on any particular form of religion. Roman Catholic ecclesiastics will not have this. Science is the great stumbling block ; lesser troubles are philosophy and modern history. They cannot permit free teaching and free learning in these subjects, and they are well aware that University education (which they fear, but dare not forbid) under these restrictions is not University education as Englishmen understand it. So they have formed the plan of sheltering their maimed and mutilated teaching under the prestige of the University of Dublin, and of thereby exercising an equal share in the control of the proud University which they have disliked so much. Mr. Bryce and Mr. Birrell have stepped forward to help them. If a Liberal majority sanctions the scheme, it will be a sin against the light. A Liberal Government, for political purposes, will have gone back to mediævalism. The conception of University education held by Irish ecclesiastics—and no lay opinion dare make itself heard—would provoke roars of laughter if plainly expounded in the House of Commons.

" Hands Off " Trinity.

Trinity College asks for so little, or rather it asks for nothing. It asks to be let alone ; it wants leave to carry on its great work undisturbed by religious bitterness. The Government propose to take away its charter, to steal its power of self-government, to put over it a new governing body, half of whose members will believe that investigation in science is mere irreligious wickedness, and the study of philosophy a sure road to atheism. At this age of the world Newton and his followers to be superseded by Thomas Aquinas ! No one ought to blame Trinity College for objecting. Its governing body have declared again and again that they have nothing to say against the claim for higher education by their Roman Catholic

fellow countrymen. There is a desire for a University with a Roman Catholic atmosphere, steeped in national sentiment, having the conferring of diplomas as its main object. Such an University ought to be supplied ; let the Government see to it. But Trinity College is in spirit like Oxford and Cambridge, like Edinburgh or Aberdeen. It will not consent to alter the courses and the examinations of Dublin University—to sin against the light.

All educated Englishmen must hope that Trinity College will survive the present attack. It has seen much and survived much. It survived the great rebellion of 1641, although its Provost, poor man, fled over to England and never returned. It survived the desperate Siege of Dublin, which Cromwell relieved. James II. drove out the Fellows and students, and put in Jesuit priests. Is a Liberal Government to be more successful than James II. ? An English queen founded it, but it has developed on its own lines. It has incurred bitter dislike by preserving in Ireland the English tradition of free inquiry and free learning. It has committed another crime against national sentiment in Ireland by making its education secular. It prefers lay teachers to clerical teachers, no matter what their religion. Lastly, its students are, and always have been by sentiment and tradition, loyal to the Crown. For these sins against Irish opinion it is now in danger. Englishmen ought to acknowledge the justice of its demand—to be left alone.

X.—THE POLITICAL PRIEST.

By “Pat.”

(Author of “Economics for Irishmen.”)

As We were Once.

THE Irish are not a puritanical people. Their native instincts suggest the hillside rather than the cloister, and large numbers of them know the word “ascetic” only as the name of a racehorse. They breed men for action rather than for thought, as becomes a product of Nature at her generous ease, and they are impatient of the pains that produce the specialism in religion as in other things. Their priest, of the traditional type, conjures up a picture of broad humanity and a bowl of punch, without the smallest suggestion of discredit to “the cloth” ; a character marked by liberty without vice, with charity predominant over definitions ; and this is, or was, surely a fine character in essentials. Our data of decay leave traces of a life that could be loved in Ireland before the Nonconformist Conscience joined with Rome to make the modern Irishmen a moral freak.

And as We are Now.

Such were the Irish once in Ireland, in spite of their disabilities, and such were their clergy ; but to-day, as if Liberty had reversed her order, they are sunk so helplessly under the clerical heel that one of their wealthiest families is coerced by a cleric into stopping a newspaper and printing business without a single charge of having done or printed anything against religion. In his letter which caused the “Irish Peasant” to be suppressed, Cardinal Logue used the word “Anti-Catholic” ; but he has specifically withdrawn it, which makes his case much worse than if he had never uttered the charge. The doctrines of religion hold the individual free, short of violating doctrine, and Cardinal Logue admits

specifically that no doctrine has been violated ; therefore, in causing the suppression of the paper he has violated doctrine himself. The owners might, as Catholics, have refused to obey, and continued their paper ; but even their great wealth could not protect them against the persecution to be expected ; and so we have a representative dignitary of the Church using "religion" to intimidate thought and to crush the legitimate liberty of the individual, even on his own official definition of the phrase.

How I caught a Cardinal.

It seems extraordinary, and yet the conduct of the Cardinal is quite representative of the average priest in Ireland. That was the great hidden truth I planned to bring out when, as editor of the paper, I asserted the liberties defined for us by our religion, and left Cardinal Logue to take his course. I placed His Eminence in the awkward position of either permitting legitimate liberty, or else violating the doctrines of his own religion in order to suppress it. If he allowed me to go on, liberty must prevail, and we could have a new Ireland ; if he stopped me, he must violate his own doctrines to do it. He has chosen the latter course, which, I regret to think, is in the end the more dangerous to his own order. I am free now to confess that that was the particular purpose for which I first accepted the editorship of "The Irish Peasant" down in stupid Meath, announcing "Deference to the clergy in all things of religion, and independence of them in all things else." That was the ground on which I was discharged. It had never been attempted before, and the fact that a parish paper became a national one on the declaration of these principles means a revelation of hope which makes me feel that I have done something for the freedom of Ireland. Such a discovery cannot remain useless. What has been done can be done again, and will be done, if only for its percentage on capital in a hitherto unexploited field for journalism. The day is coming, if not to-morrow, and the motive will be above percentages.

The Origin of the Clerical Terror.

How does a race, so strong in all things everywhere abroad, sink to this weakness of slow death under ecclesiastical hypnotism at home ? There is scarcely a spot on the face of the earth more naturally conditioned to evolve higher standards of animal energy, and the facts bear out the designs of nature (as in our hunters, our hammer-throwers, and our pugilists), which would suggest the opposite of ascetic enslavement ; but there seems to be in the "atmosphere" something equally tending to the supernatural, marked by excesses as notable as those on the lower plane. "The faculty for realising the unseen," as Father John Burke called it, appears to have shown excessive developments in the inhabitants of Ireland, no matter who, no matter when. In pagan times the Irish killed their little children for sacrifices to their gods ; now they starve their children to raise noble but unnecessary spires over destitution, and to fatten the idle casuists that lurk to prey on life under those same spires. The more of "the faculty for realising the unseen" there is in a people, the easier is their enslavement by the expert supernaturalist, despite their strength in other ways. Traffic in the souls of men is practicable only in so far as they have souls, and the Irish are "a soulful people." With so many distinct races following each other and blending in Ireland, all manifesting the same excessive tendencies to the super-

natural, it would seem a matter of location rather than of lineage, and some day a psychologist may trace the gods that killed the children, and those that starve them, to a common origin in our climatic peculiarities ; but, on the other hand, the race of to-day has had no fair chance to develop those other faculties, so much more useful to life and character, which correct the excessive tendencies skyward.

Some Curious Survivals.

In early Christian times, ministers in Ireland appear to have run loose from religious restraints, perhaps through the discrediting of Druidism before the new priesthood had completed its grip. In outlying regions there are traditions of polyandry, and they are not without concrete data. For instance, numerous ancient stories record men's lives only from their mothers' side, as if their fathers were unknown ; like the stone near Ballyharnis, which speaks of "Connel, the son of Winifred." Some think that things of this kind continued to such recent times as to alarm the Church, and cause very severe measures to be adopted, with the obvious need to make Hell so much hotter than elsewhere ; this would reasonably account for the excessive terror of the priest bequeathed to us in our own time. However, the history and present aspect of the clerical problem are of more importance than its origin.

The Priest against Nationality.

Historians trace the decline and fall of our native dynasties from the cursing of royal Tara by another Church dignitary ; and the Rev. John Roche Ardill, LL.D., in his "Forgotten Facts of Irish History," shows beyond question that the first was England's great instrument against Ireland throughout the Norman period down to the Reformation. But the Catholics of Ireland are kept studiously ignorant about that side of their country's history, while they are most carefully "instructed" as regards the persecutions succeeding the Reformation and renewed under Cromwell. After the Reformation England had no further need for the priest's services against Ireland, and when she began persecuting him instead of employing him, a Pope of the period discovered that "Ireland had always been the special care of the Vatican." Then it was that the priest in Ireland discovered himself to be a patriot. He simply wanted protection for his privileges ; and even now, as the secular intelligence arrests his political despotism, he tries to annex Dublin Castle and Sir Anthony Macdonnell. He will be on the strong side if he can. Not long ago, on "evidence" organised under clerical terror, the Under-Secretary's office ordered a very serious prosecution, and the organised perjury broke down so badly that the Crown Solicitor had to get the permission of the Court to cross-examine his own perjurers. I have means of knowing the real facts of this case much better than Sir Anthony Macdonnell himself. Is it any wonder that a man with the straight mind of Mr. Bryce grew suddenly sick of the Castle atmosphere in its present state of ventilation ? This governing Ireland through the priest is curious work for the Nonconformist conscience.

Catholic Calvinism.

For more than a hundred years we have had a kind of Calvinism of our own among the Irish priesthood, and its effects are far from ended. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, when France was shedding her ecclesiastical burden by short cuts, a number of French priests found their way into Maynooth, where teachers were scarce, and started there

the school known as "Jansenism," from which we can trace the un-Irish austerities and the ascetic excesses that still withdraw from life so much of its resources in mind and material, to be buried behind convent walls at the expense of the nation.

Where the threads meet.

In this short space I have tried to trace down the various ecclesiastical threads that meet in Cardinal Logue, with the various influences which enable him and his order to dominate the institutions of civilised life, and to terrorise individual liberty out of existence. His dreadful and anti-Catholic attitude towards "The Irish Peasant," its owners and its servants, is so comprehensive and so representative that I need not mention the hundreds of similar acts that I know to the credit of the clergy throughout the country. If the wealthy and the educated cannot stand against a tyranny so obvious, what hope have the ignorant poor against the thousand occult subtleties that make their lives a mental and moral imprisonment? If the Irish people are not to be permitted to develop the faculties by which they might administer their own institutions, then, of what use are institutions to them?

A Free Parliament, with Enslaved Education.

The two main complaints against "The Irish Peasant" were that it advocated free libraries and demanded a voice for parents in the education of their children! Cardinal Logue condemns free libraries, and denounces anyone who wants a share for the people in the control of their own education; yet he is a Home Ruler! For what? To dominate Home Rule also? He says we are fit to govern ourselves, but not fit to educate ourselves! He demands liberties for us from outside, but will not permit the inside liberties by which alone the outside ones could be made workable. We are to be set "free," but held in trembling ignorance. Individual liberty is the basis of all other liberty, but the head of the Catholic religion in Ireland makes use of that religion to make individual liberty impossible. If the Catholic Nationalists of Ireland are really in earnest, and not merely clerical pawns on the political chess-board, why do they not fling away these corrupting fetters, and make it possible for honest statesmanship to deal with them?

In conclusion, let me say that these tyrannies are not the Catholic religion. If they were, no honest man could belong to it. Real Catholicism is so rare in Ireland to-day that the Catholic layman who dares to claim the individual liberty defined to him by his Faith is persecuted by priests from one end of the island to the other.

XI.—HOME RULE AND BRITISH FINANCE.

By Sir George C. T. Bartley, K.C.B.

As Home Rule is to be brought forward again, this time under an alias, it may be as well to inquire into some of the financial effects on the Predominant Partner, namely, England and Scotland, if any such measure should become law. The subject is a large one and opens up many issues, but to make it as clear as possible it will be as well to confine our attention to one simple point at a time, and to see how that point is likely to affect the financial position of the British taxpayer.

The question that at once occurs is the following: what security will exist for the repayment of the advances that have been made to enable the

Irish tenant to purchase his holding? It is very difficult to get at the exact amount of money advanced at any particular date, but from the last published Report of the Irish Land Commission and the last Report of the Estate Commissioners, up to 31st March, 1906, it would appear that the account stands somewhat as follows:—

The amount advanced to tenants for the purchase of land under the Land Purchase Acts, 1881 to 1885, and still owing, is £8,665,185; under the Acts of 1891 and 1896, an amount of £13,599,184; and under the Act of 1903, advanced to 21,716 persons, £9,855,046. Total, over £32,000,000,

A Loan of Millions.

In addition to this, under the last-named Act, purchases have been agreed to, to a very great amount, in all to 86,869 persons, amounting to £32,603,287. Whether the £9,855,046 is included in this or not, is not clear, but if it is, the total amount advanced, or to be advanced in the near future, is not less than £57,000,000 sterling. The commitments also are increasing very rapidly each month, for the 1903 Act does not appear to contain any limit to the total amount that may be ultimately raised for the purpose of making advances to tenants. During the passing of the Act, it was understood that it might ultimately involve one hundred million, or even one hundred and twenty million pounds sterling. The number of tenants thus assisted must amount already to some 50,000; and, as stated above, under the 1903 Act nearly 90,000 will soon be added. What the number will ultimately be it is impossible to say, but it must amount to several hundred thousand. The instalments then will, of course, have to be collected from that number of persons for very many years, most of the loans running for half a century.

The money so advanced has been raised on the security of the United Kingdom, the great bulk coming from England and Scotland. The interest and repayment is, of course, guaranteed by the United Kingdom, and must be paid either by the Irish tenants or, in case of their failing, by an additional taxation. This would come chiefly out of the pockets of the taxpayers of England and Scotland, and would have to be made up entirely by England and Scotland in the event of Home Rule, if the Irish tenants and the Irish Government failed to pay.

Preference for Irish Tenants.

The system of encouraging tenants to become freeholders has always been different in Ireland to England or any other country. According to economic rules, in England a person becomes a freeholder first by exercising thrift and care, which enables him to save a portion of the purchase-money, which he pays down. He then, by making an effort, pays a larger annual sum than his former rent for a limited number of years, usually for the period the borrower is likely to live. This annual payment covers the loan and interest, and at the end of the term the tenant becomes actually the freeholder. Such a system brings out all the qualities which are likely to lead to success, such as thrift and effort, and at the same time the lender of the money has at once ample security for his loan, a security which becomes greater and greater as more and more of the loan is annually paid off, with the interest.

In Ireland this, like most other economic laws, has been set aside. The State has been so anxious to get the tenants to become nominal owners that, when it has induced the landlord to sell to his tenants under

the various Acts, it has not required the tenants to pay anything down. Further, it has even offered an immediate financial inducement to the tenant to buy by not making the payment for loan and interest greater than his former rent, but actually less. Thus, a man paying a rent of, say, £20 a year, is told that if he buys he will pay nothing down, but that his payment in lieu of rent will be at once reduced to, say, £18, which he will have to pay for about 50 years; then he will be a freeholder, and pay nothing more. This has been rendered possible by the high credit of the United Kingdom, enabling it to borrow the money at a low rate, though of late years this facility of cheap borrowing is rather changing. The result of this so-called advantage to Ireland has been that a large number of tenants have undertaken to purchase their holdings. It has not, however, stimulated energy before or after the purchase; it has often enabled tenants to borrow more on their holdings and tenant right—a facility they have taken advantage of; and so, in not a few instances, it has placed them ultimately in a worse position than they were before.

What is our Security?

This leads up to the main point—how does this, from the British taxpayer's point of view, affect the security for the enormous loans made to the Irish tenant? How does this affect the security from a commercial standpoint? Does it make the repayment of the instalments more or less secure? In considering this, we must remember that the whole value of the property has been lent, and indeed more than all, because the loan has absolutely lowered the rent that can be obtained for the holding. Even after some instalments of the loan are repaid (if, indeed, a lower payment than the former rent, as explained above, can be called an instalment), the security is only improved so long as money can be obtained at an equally low rate to the original loans. This is not likely to be the case after Home Rule has been granted. Further, if there were an open market for the sale of such properties—when in default—it would be impossible for the full money advanced to be got back. As, however, from political reasons, there is no market, it is doubly certain that the loss would fall inevitably on the creditor, who would not be the Irish, but the English and Scotch taxpayer.

By the operation of the Acts above referred to, a sum of at least a million sterling a year is, or will very shortly be, due from the Irish tenant to the Imperial Exchequer. This debt is increasing monthly. Each month some £300,000 is added to the loans. Even now there is a considerable risk, though it must be acknowledged that hitherto the payments of the instalments have been well maintained. It is possible, however, that, as the poorest and least energetic class or tenant is reached for purchase, this state of affairs will not continue even under the present system. If payments are not made, it means of course so much loss to the Imperial Exchequer, the great part of the loans, as already stated, having been supplied by Great Britain.

If Ireland got Home Rule.

At the present time the United Kingdom has in its hands the whole administration of Ireland, and can of course use that, as indeed it would be bound to use it, to secure the due repayment of the instalments or to retake possession of the lands if the instalments were not made. From experience we know that even this would be difficult. What, however, would be the position in which the English taxpayer would find himself

when Devolution or Home Rule is established ? In the first place, the total amount advanced (by that time probably nearly one hundred millions sterling) will have to be apportioned between Great Britain and Ireland, the money having been raised by the United Kingdom. This would give rise to much discussion, and probably very nearly the whole debt would have to be taken over by Great Britain. Here then is probably the first, and by no means an insignificant, loss to the taxpayer ; for we should derive no benefit from this expenditure, and the English peasant, often quite as poor as the Irish, would bitterly resent having to pay his share of this heavy burden.

The instalments from the hundreds of thousands of Irish tenants would probably, under the Home Rule Bill, have to be collected by the Irish Government and then paid over to Great Britain in a lump sum. Is it likely that this will be a very popular payment by the Irish tenants ? Hundreds of thousands a year, it would be said, taken from the poor of Ireland to go to rich England ! In case of distress, bad harvests, could the amount be pressed for ? And once not paid, is it likely that payment will be re-established ? Is it not practically certain that in a short time, in probably a very short time, the voluntary payment of this amount would cease ? The Irish Government, unable or unwilling to obtain payment by eviction with armed force, will plead its inability to impose additional taxation on the whole nation in order to raise the necessary money. It is clear, therefore, that this large sum will be practically lost to the British taxpayer as a result of Home Rule, or Devolution. The payment might also be refused on political grounds. We all remember the plan of campaign, the No Rent Manifesto, and such like systems. These attacks were against landlords and others, many of whom, whatever their faults, were yet Irishmen ; and not a few of whom were not personally disliked by the Campaigners ; nevertheless, boycotting and other forms of intimidation were freely used against these individuals to avoid payment. What would be the feeling of the Irish tenant towards the British Government, for whom no personal friendship has ever been even professed, and from whom they had wrung Home Rule, after they had suffered, as they say, centuries of ill-treatment ? Would it not be popular, would it not be especially attractive, to refuse payment ? Is it not certain, judging from past history, that this course of non-payment would very soon be adopted ?

The Taxpayer's Dilemma.

What remedy would then remain ? Moral suasion would not be powerful. We could remonstrate with the Irish Government, but could we enforce payment ? The police, the agency of the law, all power of legal process, and the use of forcible action (ejectment, eviction, &c.) would be in the hands of the Irish Government. Would they be likely to use their weapons against thousands of their own countrymen to collect a tribute to a foreign country ? We know they would not do so for such a purpose. We should not reconquer Ireland to secure payment of a debt or to eject defaulting tenants, and in a short time this debt would have to be written off as many another has been before, and the English and Scotch taxpayer would be the loser.

The general conclusion then that we must come to is that, if Devolution or Home Rule be granted to Ireland, whatever advantages or disadvantages may accrue, it is clear that the many millions sterling granted to Ireland under the various Acts to promote the creation of tenant

proprietors will probably have to be presented to Ireland by the taxpayer of Great Britain.

This one item that we have confined our attention to, and there are many others, as will be shown as the subject is debated, is in itself very large. It means a risk, if Home Rule or Devolution be granted, of at least sixty millions sterling for Great Britain to pay, a sum which would do much for our own peasantry here, who are in many places no better off than the Irish tenants.

To secure a great good to Ireland while it remains an integral part of the United Kingdom, England and Scotland would do much, not counting the money cost at all. Are we however prepared, not only to break up the United Kingdom, but at the same time to tax ourselves very heavily to do so ?

(To be continued.)

IRISH DIARY.

1907.

April 4.—Mr. Birrell, M.P., spoke at Dublin, at the Irish National Teachers' Congress.

April 5.—Mr. W. Redmond, M.P., at Paisley.

April 6.—Deputation to Mr. Birrell, M.P., at Dublin, protesting against position assigned to Queen's College, Galway, in the Bryce University scheme.

April 7.—Mr. Dillon, M.P., at Athenry.

April 11.—Mr. W. Redmond, M.P., at Jarrow.

April 12.—Mr. Long at Belfast, supporting candidature of Mr. George S. Clark.

April 13.—Letter published from Mr. Arthur W. Samuels, K.C., detailing, with explanations, the 67 departments of Irish Government, as set out by Lord Dunraven in "The Outlook in Ireland."

April 17.—North Belfast Election. See page 37.

April 19.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Nationalist Land Bill read a second time. Speeches by Mr. Dillon, Mr. Cherry, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Birrell, and Mr. Wyndham.

April 22.—Mr. Redmond, M.P., Mr. Dillon, M.P., and Mr. Devlin, M.P., at the Queen's Hall, London.

April 24.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Debate on Sir Horace Plunkett. Speeches by Mr. Dillon, Mr. Redmond, Mr. Birrell, and Mr. Balfour.

April 26.—Mr. Birrell, M.P., spoke at Halifax on Irish affairs.

April 27.—Correspondence published between the Government and Sir Horace Plunkett, with reference to the termination of his position.

IRISH FACTS.

Vol. 1.—No. 3.]

[JUNE, 1907.

CURRENT NOTES.

The Ring Cleared.

Unionists will be thankful to the Nationalists for having cleared the ring for a straight fight between Union and Separation. Devolution which confused the issue, has now been rejected by all parties. The policy of Home Rule by instalments—the policy of slow poison—has been discredited for all time. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman must come into the open, and proceed against the Union and Empire by open assault. The Nationalists have done a good day's work for the Union by forcing the Government to abandon the policy of sap and mine. Electors will grasp the danger to the Empire when the fight between loyalty and disloyalty is a straight one, and the work of the Unionist party has to that extent been made easier.

Mr. Redmond's Motion.

The following are the terms of the motion moved by Mr. Redmond at the Nationalist Convention, rejecting the Irish Council Bill:—

That this Convention, representative of Irish National opinion, emphatically places on record its profound conviction that nothing can satisfy the National aspirations of Ireland, or bring peace and contentment to our people, but a measure of Self-Government which will give to the Irish people complete control of their own domestic affairs.

That, while we have never wavered in our belief that it was an impossibility to produce any logical or workable scheme for the extension and development of popular power and responsibility in Ireland short of the concession of Home Rule, at the same time, in accordance with the resolution of the National Directory of February 5, 1907, and with public declarations made from time to time on our behalf, we have been willing to give fair consideration to any scheme prepared by British Ministers which in their opinion would be "consistent with, and lead up to the larger policy" to which they were pledged.

That, having considered the Irish Council Bill introduced by the Government, we declare that it is utterly inadequate in its scope, and unsatisfactory in its details, and should be rejected by the Irish Nation, and we regard the production of such a measure, by a British Government pledged to Home Rule, as confirmation of the position we have always

taken up, that any attempt to settle the Irish problem by half measures would be entirely unsuccessful.

And we call upon the Irish party to oppose the Bill in the House of Commons, and to press upon the Government with all their strength and power to introduce a measure for the establishment of a native Parliament with a responsible executive having power over all purely Irish affairs; and at this crisis in the fortunes of Ireland we invite all the Nationalist forces of the country to unite in support of our representatives in Parliament, so as to enable them to effectively press for a speedy and genuine settlement of the Irish question.

Mr. Birrell's Bill.—Radical Opinion.

"Our scheme will give the people of Ireland almost as much control over their own affairs as the people of the Transvaal now enjoy." (The Prime Minister at Manchester.) That is to say that the "Irish Council Bill" is a measure which gives **almost** Colonial self-government to Ireland.

The "Daily Chronicle" and the "Daily News" give the Government certificates for unbounded sympathy with Irish aspirations:—

"Daily Chronicle":—

"This Bill may be described as inspired by trust in the people, qualified only by guarantees for administrative efficiency."

"Daily News":—

"While the Liberal Government remains in power, and Ireland has a sympathetic House of Commons to which she can appeal when legislation is necessary, one need fear neither sharp conflicts nor acute disappointment. The danger will come when Unionism is supreme at Westminster."

What the Nationalist Press think.

"Roscommon Herald," May 11:—

"Ireland can get as much as the brave Boers got if she insists on flinging Birrell's wretched Bill back in his leering and jeering face."

"Limerick Leader," May 10:—

"The more the scheme outlined by Mr. Birrell, in the House of Commons on Tuesday last, comes to be considered, the more worthless it appears to be, even as an attempt at a partial settlement of the Home Rule demand.

"Galway Observer," May 11:—

"It is a question whether the Government does not take the Irish people to be a lot of fools that will take anything that is thrown at them; on the other hand Mr. Birrell and his Government have taken up the shabbiest position that was possible for them in dealing with Ireland."

"Drogheda Independent," May 11:—

"However one views the infant prodigy now presented at Westminster, one is met by unmistakable indications of the cowardice

and timidity in which the legislative bratling has been begotten. Its sponsor was vehement in his assertion that it was a poor, puny, spurious abortion; something framed in the spirit of white terror, by someone suffering from a bad attack of Orange-cum-Unionist nightmare."

"Freeman's Journal," May 11:—

"There is nothing of Home Rule about the measure. There is nothing generous, courageous, or trusting."

"Sinn Fein," an advanced Nationalist organ, says:—

"The betrayal is now complete. Home Rule is gone by the board. We were convinced the Devolution Bill would be worthless. We were not prepared for the insult to Ireland which Mr. Birrell outlined. The petty trickery of offering patronage and withholding power in order to raise up in Ireland a new species of corrupt officialdom and corrupt publicists, and the mannikin Machiavelianism of withholding all serious questions from the Council, except the one question on which the country can be set by the ears, is characteristic of British Liberalism."

"Kilkenny People," May 11:—

"The Birrell Bill, so far as one is in a position to judge of its provisions from the speech made by its introducer, appears to be, from the Irish point of view, just as useless as half a chronometer, or worse still as a Grandfather's Clock. . . Ireland is willing to accept from the Liberal party a fair and reasonable compromise of the National Question; she is not, we take it, prepared to swallow any crumb that the Liberal party may spit out."

Opinions on the Bill: The Priests.

CARDINAL LOGUE.—"I think the Bill is ludicrously disappointing in view of the hopes that have been raised, and, in some of its provisions, mischievous. I believe any politician who will try to secure its acceptance at the forthcoming Convention will incur grave suspicion of endeavouring to deceive his countrymen in the interests of the Ministry."—"Irish Independent," May 14.

ARCHBISHOP WALSH.—"I have read the Bill. It seems to me so bad all round that I feel a difficulty in saying anything that could tend to induce the coming Convention to give it any countenance."—"Irish People," May 18.

THE BISHOP OF LIMERICK.—"I dare say no intelligent man thinks that this latest of Mr. Birrell's offspring will live long. A measure for the regeneration of Ireland about which Irish opinion wavers between indignant rejection and contemptuous toleration has not the prospect of a distinguished career."—"Freeman's Journal," May 13.

THE BISHOP OF KILDARE.—"It appears then to be the duty of the Catholic clerical body to be strongly represented at the coming Convention, and to insist upon their claims to the rights of ordinary citizens; to claim that not alone shall no new right be withheld from them under Mr. Birrell's Bill, but also that the rights of which they were so insultingly deprived under Mr. Balfour's Local Government Act shall be restored to them before any fundamental or far-reaching changes be made in the educational machinery of the country."—"Freeman's Journal," May 13.

More Opinions : Local Bodies.

SLIGO RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL.—Mr. Gilmartin said “he believed the Irish National Convention would kick this thing into the Liffey.”

MAYO COUNTY COUNCIL.—Mr. Daly : “The new Bill was an insult to the Irish race.”

ROSCOMMON COUNTY COUNCIL.—Resolution passed unanimously rejecting Bill ; delegates so instructed.

DUNSHAUGHLIN GUARDIANS.—Bill condemned as of little benefit ; delegates instructed accordingly.

CORK COUNTY COUNCIL.—Mr. Fitzgerald said : “A greater insult was never offered to the Irish people.”

NEWCASTLE WEST BOARD OF GUARDIANS.—Resolution passed unanimously condemning Bill.

KILKENNY CORPORATION.—Resolution passed condemning Bill ; delegates instructed to vote against it.

LEITRIM COUNTY COUNCIL.—Resolution passed unanimously condemning Bill.

LIMERICK GUARDIANS.—Delegates instructed to vote against Bill.

TEMPLEMORE URBAN COUNCIL.—The Chairman : “A very poor Bill.”

SOUTH DUBLIN RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL.—Mr. M'Guinness said : “It was like the Germans putting a shamrock on a matchbox to please Paddy.” Resolution passed condemning Bill.

GALWAY COUNTY COUNCIL.—The Chairman : “Would rob and impoverish Ireland.” Bill condemned by resolution passed unanimously.

RATHDOWN BOARD OF GUARDIANS.—Resolutions passed condemning Bill as “A series of insults.”

The following local bodies have refused to appoint delegates to the Convention :—Castlerea Urban Council, Ennistymon Guardians.

The Bill has been condemned by the following local bodies :—Dungarvan Urban Council, Tipperary (No. 1) District Council, Mallow Board of Guardians, Granard District Council.

The Bill has been condemned by the Chairmen of the following County Councils :—King's County (“A miserable, halting measure.”), Dublin (“A very timid effort.”), Longford (“Not worth thanks.”).

The Unionist party of Great Britain and Ireland reject the Bill with equal vigour, but upon other grounds. To them it appears to grant immense powers of administration to a Council with an enormous Nationalist majority ; to substitute the control of a disloyal party organisation for that hitherto exercised by the King in Parliament ; to withdraw from public scrutiny the allocation and expenditure of over four millions of public money ; and to place the lives and careers of Protestants and Unionists who live in Ireland at the mercy of Nationalists and Roman Catholics.

Radical “Reductions.”

One of the pleas put forward for a Home Rule Bill is the necessity for simplifying, reducing, and co-ordinating the Departments of the Irish Government. Their number is variously stated at forty-five or sixty-seven.

Mr. Birrell's Bill deals with eight, and may include eight more in its provisions. It leaves, then, twenty-nine or fifty-one quite untouched.

Not only that, but whilst amalgamating the Education Boards, there will be created three more Departments : the Irish Treasury, the Council Staff, and possibly a new Department to look after the offices of the British Government, should the Irish Council refuse to let their Board of Works do so (not an improbable contingency). Taken, then, as a measure of co-ordination and administrative efficiency, the Bill is ludicrously inoperative. It leaves the majority of the Departments quite untouched, and **actually adds to their number !**

Britain and the Bill.

British electors should not run away with the idea that the Irish Council Bill is a measure which concerns Ireland alone. On the contrary, it materially affects every inhabitant of Great Britain. And for the following reasons :—

1. The control of Irish affairs (so far as the eight departments in the Bill are concerned) is to be solely in the hands of the Irish Council. British electors will not have a word to say in the management of these departments, but Irish M.P.'s are to remain at Westminster and are to have a full voice in the administration of English and Scottish affairs.

2. Every year the Irish Council are to be paid more than £4,000,000 out of public money. This is an increase of £650,000 over the present cost of administration ; the taxpayers will have to find this sum, but they will not be allowed to say how it shall be spent.

3. So entirely will the administration of the eight departments be removed from the control of Parliament that no questions can be asked, and no information can be given, respecting the conduct of any single item of business of the Irish Council.

4. Parliament will not be relieved of the Irish members or of Irish legislation, and therefore will not have more time to devote to purely English and Scottish legislation.

5. Full power is given in the Bill to the Government without consulting Parliament to hand over to the Irish Council every department of the British Government in Ireland. Such departments are :—The Customs, Inland Revenue, Post Office, Board of Trade, Stationery Office, Ordnance Survey, Inspectors of Factories, War Office, Royal Naval Reserve, Woods and Forests, Joint Stock Companies Office, Registry of Friendly Societies.

The Lord Lieutenant : His Powers and Veto.

The most amazing provisions of Mr. Birrell's Bill are those which deal with the powers and duties of the Lord Lieutenant. The Lord Lieutenant represents the Crown, and so far, during his term of office, has not interfered in party politics. Under the Bill, however, all that is to be changed. He will become a partisan Minister, wielding tremendous powers, and possessed of great responsibilities.

Apart from the duties he will be called upon to exercise at the outset in bringing the measure into full operation, the following is a list of new powers placed on the Lord Lieutenant :—

1. After the first Council he will select the twenty-four nominated members.

2. He may add to the duties of the Irish Council by giving them control over certain other departments.

3. He may reserve any resolution of the Irish Council for consideration, and until it is confirmed by him the Council can take no action on the matter.

4. He may annul a resolution.

5. He may return the resolution to the Council for them again to consider, giving such reasons as he thinks fit.

6. If immediate action is necessary, in order to preserve the efficiency of the service, or to prevent public or private injury, the Lord Lieutenant may do whatever he thinks necessary. Such action will have all the force of an act done by the Council.

7. If a Committee of the Council resolve on an action of which the Lord Lieutenant does not approve, he may require the committee to submit their resolution to the Council, notwithstanding that the Council may have delegated all its powers in this matter to the committee. (The object of this is to prevent the Council escaping the Lord Lieutenant's veto on its actions by delegating its duties to committees which would act in secret and over which the Lord Lieutenant would otherwise have no control.)

8. He may, after consulting the Irish Council, dissolve, reorganise, or amalgamate any of the departments controlled by the Council, and he may set up new departments.

9. After 31st March, 1909, he will take the powers of the Chief Secretary in all Government departments in which the Chief Secretary was an ex-officio member or president, or had powers.

The departments are:—

Department.	Position of Chief Secretary.		
Local Government Board	President.
Department of Agriculture	President.
Congested Districts Board	Member.

The absurdity of this provision will be seen at once. As possessing the powers of President of the Local Government Board, the Lord Lieutenant will be instructed by the Irish Council to take a certain course, which as Lord Lieutenant he may veto, and forbid himself to do!

10. He takes the place of the Treasury when the sanction or consent of that body is required for expenditure, &c.

11. Powers of Secretary of State or Treasury to appoint or remove certain officers in departments transferred to Council now vested in the Lord Lieutenant.

The officers thus affected are Commissioners of Public Works (Treasury), Vice-President of Department of Agriculture (Secretary of State).

Protestants, take Notice !

We are amazed to find that the Irish Council Bill (Part III., Clause 15) contains the following provision:—"Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any Act, every subject of His Majesty shall be qualified to hold the office of Lord Lieutenant without reference to his religious belief." This is obviously to allow Roman Catholics to become Lord Lieutenant, a most important departure in the Government of Ireland. We are not prepared at this point to argue whether such a change be right or wrong, but we call the attention of every Protestant denomination to the fact that it is far outside the scope of "A Bill to provide for the establishment and functions of an Administrative Council in Ireland,"

and that it is not unlikely to pass the House of Commons by means of the guillotine known as "closure by compartments," which ensures that no public comment shall be made. To connect such a large change in the conditions of a Lord Lieutenant's tenure of office with a "glorified County Councils" Bill, is both cunning and absurd. It is **cunning** because it is hoped in this way to pass what ought to be a separate Act of Parliament as a mere clause in a contentious measure of another kind; it is as absurd as to try to alter His Majesty's Coronation oath by a clause in the middle of a Passive Resister's Bill. The lurking danger, of course, is this: that, by the laws of the Roman Church, a Roman Catholic Lord Lieutenant would be bound to obey the dictate of Holy Church, and that he will be largely under the orders of the new Council, which will certainly be run by the same political priesthood that now dominates the United Irish League.

The Sham Veto.

Our worst fears are confirmed regarding the absolute power of the proposed Irish Council to take action without reference to the Lord Lieutenant if they so choose. On Wednesday, May 15, Lord Balcarras, M.P., asked Mr. Birrell if such a course would be open to the Council. The answer referred him to Clause 21 (2) of the Bill. This clause only deals with "the **mode** in which the resolutions of the Council are to be submitted to the Lord Lieutenant," and ordains that this shall be settled by consultation between His Excellency and the Council. There is nothing to say that all resolutions **shall** be submitted to the Lord Lieutenant; so it is clear that, at present, it rests with a Nationalist Council to decide what resolutions shall be referred to the Lord Lieutenant for his consideration.

What of the Future?

What of the future in Ireland? Mr. Redmond's authority has suffered over the Irish Council Bill. How will he rehabilitate himself in his leadership? Signs are not wanting that the campaign of outrage and intimidation will proceed with renewed vigour.

Mr. Redmond said at the Convention:—

"Ireland is strong enough, if she chooses, to compel a settlement of this question. . . I appeal to Ireland at this moment to rally again to the National organisation and the National party, and to show English statesmen that we are determined to achieve our rights."

Mr. John O'Callaghan, who represented the American paymasters of the Nationalist party, was more outspoken. He said:—

"If, because you may have seemed pacified, England thinks, therefore, the National spirit is dead, and if she is destined, and I hope she may be, **to a rude awakening** in that respect, the fault is not yours." He hoped that the action which would follow the rejection of the Bill would be "determined, courageous."

On the following day, at the meeting of the United Irish League of Great Britain, Mr. O'Callaghan continued in the same strain:—

"Theirs was the mission to make the English learn whether they would or not. Theirs was the mission to compel, if coercion came even, let them put it to the extreme point, to teach them that,

although they might suppress they could not conquer; that this old race would stand up and assert itself, and that no chain had ever been forged by England or any other country that could permanently hold this people down."

Mr. T. P. O'Connor, the President of the U.I.L. of Great Britain, at the same meeting delivered himself of similar advice:—

"On the people of our race, both at home and abroad, there is imposed the obligation of making a stronger, a sterner, and more energetic struggle than we have done at any period, perhaps, in the whole course of our struggle."

The Nationalist Press are taking up the advice of their leaders. The "Drogheda Independent" (May 25), says:—

"This all presupposes stirring times not alone in Westminster, but in Ireland as well. And the sooner the Irish nation begins again to renew the monitions which first turned Gladstone's ears in the direction of Irish grievances, the sooner will the Gladstonian cure for Irish ills come to be applied."

We hope that these hints of the future policy which the Nationalist leaders intend to adopt will not be lost on Mr. Birrell.

An Unfortunate Resolution.

The annual meeting of the National Liberal Federation will be held at Plymouth on June 6 and 7. The report to be presented to the meeting makes the following reference to the rejected Irish Council Bill:—

"If the great experiment of complete self-government for the Transvaal can safely be tried in the case of a people who were in arms against us only five years ago, surely it is an excess of timidity which conjures up portentous risks out of a simple measure of administrative devolution which allows the Irish people a voice in the management of purely Irish affairs."

Since the Irish people have with one accord rejected the "simple measure," it remains to be seen whether the Liberal leaders will adopt the hint of their caucus, and produce a full-blown measure of self-government for Ireland on the lines of Colonial independence.

A resolution has been tabled "warmly supporting" the Irish Council Bill, and expressing the belief "that a great advance will be made in the prosperity and well-being of Ireland as soon as the Irish people themselves are associated with the conduct and administration of Irish affairs."

Possibly the ardour of the National Liberal Federation for the Irish Council Bill will have cooled by the time of the meeting. But in any case the situation is an interesting one. If the resolution is withdrawn, we shall have Liberal support to a Government Bill dependent not on what Liberals themselves conceive to be the merits of the Bill, but on the reception accorded to the measure by their Nationalist allies. Should the resolution be passed, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman will have to choose between ignoring Irish opinion and proceeding with the Bill, or overthrowing his own followers and deferring to Nationalist opinion. It will indeed be a remarkable sight to see the Government, with a majority wholly independent of the Nationalists, meekly obeying Nationalist dictation, and dropping the Bill which they hold will be of such value to Ireland.

A Broken "Entente Cordiale."

The "entente cordiale" between the Radicals and the Nationalists exists no longer, and can only be again purchased by the Radicals at the price of a measure of complete Home Rule. The rejection of Mr. Birrell's Bill by the Convention has been followed by a complete change of tone in the Nationalist Press. Witness the following extracts from Nationalist papers :—

"Roscommon Herald" (May 25):—

"Compliments to Liberals must cease; votes for Liberals will be treason and treachery; and combat and unceasing warfare in Parliament and out of it is the only line of safety, and the only line that leads to victory."

"Wicklow People" (May 25):—

"There's no use in offering any sympathy with the Premier or the Chief Secretary on the score of traitors in the camp; it would not be easy to say at present whether any one member of the Cabinet is more treacherous than another."

"Nenagh News" (May 25):—

"The Irish Party . . . never could be in alliance with an English party who did not put full Home Rule in the front of its programme."

"Midland Reporter" (May 23):—

"There is no need any longer for any Irishman to hesitate in believing that these Liberals are a mean treacherous lot. . . There must be no longer any truce or pledge with this gang of deceivers and pledge-breakers. Every Irish energy must be strained to the one solemn task of chasing Birrell and all his crew from office."

"Kilkenny People" (May 25):—

"We gave the Irish vote in Great Britain and the Irish party in Parliament to the Liberal party. And what did we get? Worse than nothing—an insult."

The "Westmeath Nationalist" (May 25) breaks into poetry:—

"He thought he'd fool old Ireland
With a jest and with a smile,
And he'd fool its verdant people,
Who're as green as their Green Isle;
But his plans they all miscarried,
And they killed his Council Bill,
And as green as are the Irish,
He finds he's greener still."

"Irish Ideas."

"To govern Ireland according to Irish ideas" sounds well, and is, moreover, the principle underlying the Government scheme. Sir William Harcourt, a great Home Ruler, has aptly described the plight of those who might endeavour to give effect to such policy.

"If," said he, "they were to govern Ireland according to Irish ideas, he feared they would find themselves reduced to the consequence of not governing Ireland at all."

He went on to say:—

"He had always regarded Ireland as a part of Her Majesty's dominions—as an integral fraction of a united Empire—and if that

be so, Ireland, like all other parts of the dominions of the Queen, must be governed, not according to Irish, but according to Imperial ideas. Imperial ideas were exactly opposite, so far as he could judge, to Irish ideas, for Imperial ideas prescribed the duty to administer equal justice to every class of Her Majesty's subjects."

[The above quotations are taken from Sir Robert Anderson's "Side-lights on the Home Rule Movement," pp. 204, 205.]

Views on Home Rule.

The following selections of important declarations on the Home Rule question will be found valuable at the present time.

The Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, February 12, 1907 :—

"The Irish people should have what **every self-governing Colony** in the whole Empire has—the power of managing its own affairs. That is the larger policy that I have spoken of."—"Times," February 13, 1907.

Mr. Birrell at Bristol, January 2, 1906 :—

"Home Rule is a bogey."

At Kingswood on January 5, 1906 :—

"The most timid anti-Home Ruler might go to bed fearlessly and vote as he liked for a Liberal without having his slumbers disturbed by the **bogey of Home Rule for Ireland.**"

In the House of Commons, February 13, 1907 :—

"The Prime Minister, like myself in that respect, is perfectly satisfied that ultimately the only solution that will give satisfaction to the great majority of the population of Ireland will be what is generally called a Home Rule Parliament; and, therefore, he says he would never make himself responsible for any measure which would be in any way likely to obstruct or interfere with the fulfilment of these hopes. I therefore say the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Walter Long) need have no alarm as to the argument he wants to present to the country, because I know perfectly well when he sees our measure, he will say as his first objection to it that **it will inevitably lead to Home Rule.**"—"Times," February 14, 1907.

Mr. Asquith at Leuchars, January 13, 1906 :—

"In my opinion the question of Home Rule is not a question for the next House of Commons, and I should regard it as **playing false** to the constituencies if, appealing as we are for votes for Free Trade, and getting votes for Free Trade from many who are not Home Rulers, we were to use our majority for the purpose of carrying it."—"Morning Post," January 15, 1906.

House of Commons, February 16, 1907 :—

"If, when the scheme of the Government is produced it contains any provision which either in letter or spirit is inconsistent with, or is a violation of any pledge, assurance, or declaration that I have ever given, either before or during the General Election—if that is the case, and it can be proved, **I will at once resign** my position in His Majesty's Government."—"Times," February 19, 1907.

Sir Edward Grey at Berwick :—

"The Liberals were fighting this election on free trade, and could

not introduce a Home Rule Bill without another and a **special mandate** from the country."—"Times," December 30, 1905.

Sir Henry Fowler at Wolverhampton, January 13, 1906 :—

"I give you my **distinct pledge** that I will not be a party to the introduction of a Home Rule Bill into the Parliament now about to be elected."—"Express" and "Star," January 13, 1906.

Mr. John Morley, in his election address, 1906, wrote :—

"I never can pretend to believe that any reforms in the machinery of Irish Government will be found a permanently effective or successful substitute for the policy of entrusting the management of Irish affairs to an Irish representative authority, with powers and functions defined by Parliament."

Mr. Sydney Buxton in St. Pancras :—

"Home Rule was **not a practical question** at the coming election."—"Times," January 4, 1907.

The Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords, March 20, 1907 :—

"I cannot imagine, after the speeches of the Prime Minister, that there can be the least doubt as to what is meant by the larger policy. I do not speak of the term in any particular connection, but I suppose the Prime Minister is well known to be, as I am, a Home Ruler *sans phrase*. I suppose it is well known that Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's purpose and policy have not altered since he adopted the views propounded by Mr. Gladstone."—"Parliamentary Debates," Vol. 171, col. 805.

Lord Rosebery at a meeting of the Council of the Liberal League, March 26, 1907 :—

"Both the Prime Minister and the present Chief Secretary for Ireland, if I am not mistaken, have stated that they think that Ireland should be granted the rights of every self-governing Colony, which practically means an independent Parliament for Ireland. Well, I imagine that that goes considerably beyond anything that Mr. Gladstone ever indicated in any of his schemes, either in 1886 or 1893. I am also under the strong impression that whereas we are delighted to see self-government carried to the extreme of independence, united only to the Mother Country by the Crown, in Australia and Canada, it would be a very different matter when it is in a contiguous island which prides itself on the disloyalty of its public declarations."—"Times," March 27, 1907.

Lord Rosebery also referred to the Lord Chancellor's speech in the House of Lords on March 20, and said :—

"It went in the directest form for Home Rule of the directest kind. He split no hairs, he had no reservations except the old imaginary reservation of a subordinate Parliament, which to a man of his strong common-sense must, I think, be a somewhat illusory one. He went quite as far as the Prime Minister or the Chief Secretary; and I confess I read these speeches with some foreboding."—"Times," March 27, 1907.

Mr. Balfour's reply to the Irish Unionist deputation, March 19, 1907 :—

"The policy of the present Government in respect of Ireland

is a deliberate and intentional fraud upon the British electorate. . . . This ultimate goal of Home Rule is being tortuously sought by the present Government, but we shall resist it to the uttermost. . . . We recognise to the full the perils to which the Union is exposed, and to which those who support the Union in Ireland are exposed. We recognise to the full that the measure of the Government, as avowed by the Government themselves, is to be a step only to Home Rule, and we know that Home Rule means not merely the ruin of great commercial interests in Ulster, and an unmerited injury upon the loyal minority throughout Ireland, but that it means the greatest blow to the prosperity and the greatness of this Empire it has ever yet sustained.”—“Belfast News Letter,” March 20, 1907.

Irishmen condemn Nationalists.

The action of the “patriots” at Westminster in securing the dismissal of Sir Horace Plunkett has been received with consternation in Ireland. “Sinn Fein” (May 4), in an article condemning the Irish Parliamentary party, says:—

“Hitherto the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture has been mainly responsible to the Council of Agriculture—a body composed of 104 Irishmen meeting in the Irish capital. By the motion passed in the British Parliament last week, he is to be held responsible in the future to 567 foreigners and 103 Irishmen meeting abroad. The one Department of the British Government in Ireland which was worked under a limited Home Rule scheme is thus to be turned into another prop of bureaucracy. And it is not implacable Unionism which has called for this thing, but the party which poses as a Home Rule party. It was the Irish Parliamentary party which moved that the Vice-President of the Department be made responsible to British instead of to Irish opinion. . .

“The Irish Parliamentary party, 55 strong, voted that no man should be placed at the head of this Department, dealing exclusively with Irish affairs, unless he were a supporter of the British Government.”

Everyone must admit the truth of these arguments. The Government and the Irish Parliamentary party have weakened their claim that Irishmen ought to administer Irish affairs by their action in the Plunkett case. Unionists will not fail to rub this well in.

Consistency !

Mr. Birrell on the Vice-Presidency of the Irish Department of Agriculture.

Mr. Birrell's Irish Council Bill, Section 20, Subsection (6).

“It is the fixed intention of the Prime Minister that this office should be a Ministerial office, held by a gentleman in sympathy with the party in power, sitting here on these benches, and responsible to the House for the work of his Department.—House of Commons, April 24.

“Subsection (3) of Section 1 of the Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899 (which enables the Vice-President of the Department to be a member of Parliament), is hereby repealed.”

“ Carrion Crows.”

Mr. Birrell added to the stock of political phrases by designating those M.P.'s who desire to acquire a proper knowledge of Ireland, “ carrion crows.”

Speaking at Halifax on April 26, he was reported by “ The Times ” as follows :—

“ There are found, I am sorry to say, in the ranks of Irishmen themselves, men in the House of Commons who make it their business day after day during the time of Questions, to fix like carrion crows upon the one or two places in Ireland where there is this ground for disturbance, and to ask questions relative thereto, not for the purpose of gaining information, for they have all the information already, not for the purpose of calling the attention of the police to these places, for the police know ten times more than they do, not for the purpose of calling my attention to these places, because I know them perfectly well and think of them day and night. No, their sole object is to malign and misrepresent their native country in the eyes of the English people, who have not the opportunities which I enjoy of knowing the true facts of the case, and who cannot of their own knowledge know how confined and limited are these areas of disorder.”

Questioned in the House (April 29), Mr. Birrell complained that he was the victim of condensation ; but being followed with praiseworthy pertinacity, by Viscount Turnour, who produced verbatim reports of the speech, Mr. Birrell two days later (May 1) abandoned this excuse and expressed his regret for having used the words complained of.

Caw ! Caw !

Mr. Birrell apologised to the reporters ; he apologised to those Unionists who question him on Irish matters for likening them to “ carrion crows ” ; but he did not apologise to the Nationalists for his offensive reference to them.

If Mr. Birrell thinks one a “ carrion crow ” for seeking information about Irish Nationalists, to whom was he referring when he used the word “ carrion ” ? Surely Ireland deserves handsomer treatment from her Chief Secretary.

A Contrast.**Political Opinion.**

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, House of Commons, May 15 :—

“ He was not aware that there was any foundation for the suggestion that there was an increasing number of outrages throughout the South and West of Ireland. The Chief Secretary informed him that **the condition of Ireland as a whole was very satisfactory**, though in certain limited areas disturbances had recently taken place.”

Judicial Opinion.

Mr. Justice Ross, Land Judge's Court, May 17 :—

“ He had known from other receivers about **this widespread and audacious conspiracy at present rampant in the West of Ireland.**

There might be something to be said for it if it were a conspiracy not to take up any land that had belonged to any former evicted tenant, but this was actually a conspiracy which on ordinary moral grounds **amounted to highway robbery**, to seize on these grass lands, to drive away the stock of the people who had been in the habit of taking it, and then, when the owner had been starved out, the Estates Commissioners were expected to buy up the property and to distribute it amongst the very people who had been urging on the business, and who had been engaged in these outrages and unlawful assemblies. Hitherto the only difficulty with him had been lack of evidence, but in this particular case he found the police had been actually in contact with the crowd. That being so, he would compel the attendance of the police in his Court. He would direct Mr. Holmes to subpoena the police who were present, and to bring them before him at the beginning of the sittings. He would find out the names of the wrongdoers, and if the case was proved against them by legal evidence, he would then deal with them as the justice of the matter demanded.”—“*Irish Times*,” May 18.

A Judge's Opinion.

During the hearing of an action for trespass and damage at the Roscommon Quarter Sessions on May 21, Judge Wakely condemned the policy of cattle-driving as “worse than sheep-stealing.”

“Peaceful” Ireland.

Mr. Birrell replying to a question by Mr. Arkwright (May 15) states that 81 policemen are occupied in affording protection to the occupiers of grazing farms in the counties of Galway, Mayo, and Roscommon. In addition, some 400 police secure the stock on the farms from molestation.

Replying on May 7 to a question by Mr. Bridgeman, Mr. Cherry (for Mr. Birrell) stated that on May 1, 245 grazing farms were under police protection.

Intimidation Encouraged.

Mr. Birrell replying to a question by Mr. Bridgeman (May 14) declined to advise the Estates Commissioners to defer the consideration of purchase by the State of grazing farms which have been surrendered and have come into the market in consequence of intimidation, until such estates as are legitimately vacant shall have been disposed of. Mr. Birrell's refusal was based on consideration of the landlords! He said:—“Landlords who may have already suffered by having grazing farms left on their hands would still further suffer by being unable to sell such farms.” The Government's sudden regard for the landlords—and particularly Irish landlords—is probably due to the fact that if Mr. Bridgeman's suggestion were acted upon, the Government would incur the wrath of the Irish Nationalists. The favourite device of the United Irish League to force the land their supporters want into the market is to practice a systematic campaign of intimidation, boycotting, and outrage, until the land is surrendered!

A Significant Claim.

It is not without significance that the Nationalist party in the West of Ireland are claiming Government approbation for their campaign of outrage and intimidation against the graziers.

During the hearing of a charge at Loughrea, on May 16, for unlawful assembly, the Sergeant gave evidence that, when the Head Constable asked the people to desist, some of them said :

"We have a perfect right to do this ; we have the Government at our back."

At Athenry, on May 10, during the hearing of a similar case, a Nationalist Justice of the Peace, from the Bench, said :—

"We have it out of the mouth of the Chief Secretary that they should agitate, and are you going to condemn these men for what they were told to do by the Chief Secretary ?"

These remarks may be supplemented by the following extract from the "*Roscommon Herald*," May 4 :—

"Mr. Birrell called the Unionist members who are continually putting questions in Parliament about the woes of the Roscommon and Galway graziers 'carrion crows,' and the vigorous epithet has stuck. It is true that he had to apologise for it in the House, but the incident shows, as one of the speakers pointed out at the Carrick meeting on Thursday, that secretly Mr. Birrell is delighted that the people are solving the grazing problem in their own way."

The speaker referred to was Mr. James Fagan, a leading local Nationalist, who is very prominent on the side of disorder in Roscommon. Addressing a meeting at Carrick-on-Shannon, on May 2, he declared :—

"We should go into this fight with grim determination, and unless you are prepared to boycott these graziers and eleven-months men, and draw a ring of fire around the grass jobbers, who are the curse of the country, our meetings are of no avail, and there is no use in assembling and passing resolutions. **I know we have the sympathy of the English Government on our side, and I know the Chief Secretary, Mr. Birrell, is heart and soul with us in the movement.**"—"*Roscommon Herald*," May 4.

Mr. Birrell's replies to questions in the House have unfortunately lent themselves to this claim. It is his duty to take definite steps to disabuse the law-breakers of the West that he is on the side of intimidation, outrage, and disorder.

Clerical Advice.

Roscrea, in County Tipperary, is in so disturbed a condition that a force of 50 policemen are encamped on a farm occupied by Mr. Luttrell, from which his cattle have on two occasions been driven. On May 24 the police arrested sixteen men, who were charged with unlawful assembly, and with maliciously beating and ill-treating Mr. Luttrell's cattle.

On Sunday, May 19, a great Nationalist demonstration was held in the neighbourhood, the principal reason of which, said the Chairman,—the Parish Priest—"was to make an effort to put an end to the system of land-holding called the eleven-months system, which had taken from them the life-blood of the country, and which was like a leech eating into the hearts of the people."

The resolution of condemnation was read by another priest, and was proposed by a third, who addressed the people :—

“Let them take a hold of the ranches, and not let their hold go until they made smithereens of them. Let them not single out any one ranch, but let them make an onslaught upon them all.”

A fourth priest seconded the resolution. It was supported by a fifth. Modestly appearing at the tail of these spiritual pastors, came Mr. Reddy, M.P.!

This is significant, and it is to be regretted that the clergy should so demean their spiritual office as to incite their flock to outrage and intimidation. The effect of their speeches in a disturbed district was certain; an outward and visible sign were the unfortunate men carried off to prison for putting into practice the teaching of the priests.

The U.I.L. Condemned.

The most Rev. Dr. Clancy, the Bishop of Elphin, has had the courage to condemn the practice of the United Irish League in touting for subscriptions at the church gates. He said at Roscommon on May 23 :—“He felt it his duty from that pulpit to state that the collections made at the church gates were contrary to the statutes of the Theological Law. He had never yet been afraid to express his conviction, and in all prudence and deliberation he could not allow political collections at the Church doors, or in immediate connection with the Church gates.” (“Roscommon Herald,” May 25.)

The Dublin University Scheme.

The list of protests against the University Scheme which we gave last month (page 50) was the substance of Mr. Birrell's reply to a question by Viscount Turnour, but we learn from the Hon. Secretaries of the Dublin University Defence Committee that it does not accurately represent the actual volume of opposition.

To those protests acknowledged by Mr. Birrell as coming from Oxford, the Scotch Universities, Sheffield, the University of Wales, Lampeter, and the School of Medicine of the Royal Colleges, Edinburgh, should be added the following :—

1. Resident doctors and masters, Cambridge University.
2. Senate of the University of Birmingham.
3. University of Liverpool.
4. Senate of the University of Bristol.

Similar memorials are being prepared by the members of other important academic and scientific corporations.

An Intimidatory Letter.

On the opposite page readers will find a facsimile reproduction of an intimidatory letter sent by the Athenry Branch of the Town Tenants' League to the tenants of the Caheroyan Farm.

The cool insolence of the communication will come as a revelation to those persons in this country who affect to make light of the disorders in Ireland.

The power of the League in the district is so great that all the tenants have surrendered rather than face the result of refusal.

**ATHENRY BRANCH,
TOWN TENANTS' LEAGUE,
Church Street, Athenry,**

MARCH 21ST, 1907.

SIR,

I am directed by the Athenry Branch Town Tenants' League to inform you that a Sale of the Lamberts' Minors' Property is in course of progress, and an inspection of the Estate, including the Town Holdings, has now been made.

In many instances the Town Tenants are called upon to pay sums of money in cash in order to enable a Sale to be carried through, which is a great hardship on them.

If land were available for distribution amongst the Town Tenants, it would be unnecessary to ask them for a cash payment as security, as a small plot of land would be equivalent for this purpose, and a Sale could be carried through easily, and without inflicting such a penalty on the unfortunate people of the Town.

The Estates Commissioners have been approached from time to time to purchase the Farm of Caheroyan for a distribution amongst the townspeople, and a serious impediment to their purchasing is in the fact that the lands are in the hands of Graziers.

You, as a Grazier on this Farm, should take these facts into consideration, and try and help the people of Athenry to become the purchasers of their homes by surrendering the grass lands now in your possession on the 1st APRIL NEXT, and you are requested to do so.

Failing to do so, I wish to inform you that a body of Fifty men have been enrolled for the purpose of clearing the lands of Caheroyan on the 2nd of APRIL NEXT, if it should be found necessary to do so.

I trust, however, that you will see your way to aid the Town Tenants of Athenry to become the owners of their homes, and I shall be glad to hear from you.

Yours truly,

WM. O'REILLY, Hon. Sec.

THE IRISH QUESTION.

[Articles I.—XI. appeared in the April and May numbers of "IRISH FACTS," which may be obtained (price 3d. each) from the UNION DEFENCE LEAGUE, 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.]

XII.—TWENTY YEARS OF IRISH GOVERNMENT— A COMPARISON.

By Ian Malcolm.

THOSE of us whose fortune it is to attend political meetings are accustomed to the well-worn Home Rule battle-cry, "What have the Unionists ever done for Ireland? Look at her condition after all these years of Tory administration!" The object of this article is to give a direct answer to the foregoing challenge: to look the facts squarely in the face, to enumerate the Acts passed for the benefit of Ireland since the Unionist party came into existence, and to institute a comparison between the legislative performances of Unionists and Home Rulers since the year 1886. It must not be forgotten that many, if not most, of the remedial Acts passed by successive Unionist Administrations have involved large advances of British capital, and that the mere suggestion of repealing the smallest of these would give rise to an outcry whose intensity would be the measure of the benefit involved. It will be remembered that, after Mr. Gladstone was beaten on the Home Rule Bill in 1886, Lord Salisbury came into power at the head of a large and compact Unionist majority.

Lord Salisbury's First Administration.

Ireland was then in a disturbed condition, and the responsibility for the administration of the sister-isle rested upon the shoulders of Mr. Arthur Balfour. The record of his tenure of office is here briefly appended:—

- 1887.—**Criminal Law and Procedure Act**—which reduced agrarian outrages from 1,056 in 1886 to 455 in 1891, and diminished boycotting from 4,901 cases in 1887 to none in 1892.
- 1887.—**Irish Land Act**—to establish fair rents and to prevent harsh evictions. Result: 130,000 leaseholders in Ireland had their rents fixed, and evictions fell from 3,781 in 1886 to 799 in 1891.
- 1888.—**Land Purchase Act**—additional loan of £5,000,000 authorized, to enable tenants to purchase their farms on easy terms.
- 1889.—**Light Railways Act**—(strongly opposed by many Gladstonians as being "demoralizing to the Irish people"). A sum of £600,000 granted by Parliament to improve the communications.
- 1890.—**Seed Potatoes Act**—to meet the distress caused by the failure of the potato crop in 1890; money was loaned (without interest) by the British Government to Irish Poor Law Guardians to enable them to find seed potatoes for small occupiers.
- 1891.—**Congested Districts Act**—to afford means for bettering the condition of those who live in congested districts, for carrying out plans for roads, harbours, drainage works, &c. The Board has

given grants for the improvement of the breed of horses, live stock, and poultry; it has undertaken forestry operations, and has enormously developed the fishing industry all round the coasts of Ireland. This Act has been of incalculable advantage to the Irish peasantry.

1892.—**Free Education Act.**

1892.—**Local Government Act**—passed second reading, but the dissolution of Parliament hindered its further progress.

Summary.—Between 1886 and 1892 the following signs of returning prosperity in Ireland were officially noted :—

Increase of—

Live stock	..	..	..	..	2½ million head.	Per cent.
Post Office Savings Bank deposits	..	..	..	..	57	
Deposits and balances in Joint Stock Banks	..	..	..	..	15	
Railway traffic receipts	..	..	..	..	15	
Shipping	..	..	..	..	6	

Decrease of—

Paupers	..	..	..	..	..	12
Evictions	..	..	..	..	..	74
Emigration	..	..	..	..	..	23
Agrarian crime	..	..	..	..	..	57
Boycotting	..	..	from 4,901 in 1887	to 6 in 1891		

Lord Salisbury's Second Administration.

In 1895 the Unionist party was again returned to power, and its programme of beneficial legislation for Ireland was proceeded with as follows :—

1896.—**Land Act**—to further promote purchase of holdings by tenants. (Total amount of loans under Land Purchase Acts was £18,500,000 in 1900.)

1896.—**Local Government Act**—establishing County Councils, &c., in Ireland.

1899.—**Agriculture and Technical Instruction Act**—to promote agriculture and other industries throughout Ireland. This Act has been an unmixed blessing to the whole of the country.

1896–1900.—At least fifteen other measures besides those already named were passed for the benefit of the people, many of them involving considerable expenditure of the taxpayers' money.

Summary.—Increase between 1895–1900 in signs of prosperity as compared with 1892–1895, when the Radical Government was in office :—

<i>Increase of—</i>	Per cent.
Savings Bank deposits	36
Joint Stock Banks deposits	7
Railway receipts and other indications	

Decrease of—

Emigration	..	..	..	..	10,000 a year.	Per cent.
Evictions	..	..	..	..	..	35
Agrarian crime	..	..	..	..	..	25

Lord Salisbury's Third Administration.

1900-1905.—Between these years no less than 20 Acts of Parliament were passed for Ireland as Government measures, most of them small, but exceedingly useful Bills. Chief amongst these were :—

1903.—**Irish Development Grant Act**—to be used for the purposes stated in the title of the Bill. By it £185,000 a year is to be paid to Ireland by Parliament.

1903.—**Irish Land Act**—to facilitate the sale and purchase of land in Ireland as between landlords and tenants, for which a loan of over £100,000,000 is sanctioned by the State as purchase money.

As a summary of the case for Irish progress under Unionist Administrations, I need only add that, by every proof which statisticians value, progress was maintained right down to the closing days of Mr. Balfour's Government in December, 1905; by all the tests that can be applied—shipping, communication, the condition of agriculture, pauperism, and emigration—the principle laid down by Lord Salisbury of “twenty years of resolute Government” has been abundantly justified. That all the benefits which I have enumerated, both of legislation and British grants of hard cash and guaranteed loans, should have failed to pacify the agitator is no wonderful thing; he must agitate or his livelihood would vanish. To those, however, who are downhearted at this apparent ingratitude, and to those Liberals who think that with the Home Rule party lies the panacea for all Irish ills, I commend the following extracts, taken from Irish newspapers, for comfort and reflection :—

Mr. Gladstone's Last Administration, 1892-1895.

“Although we have had a Liberal Government in office for three years, Ireland has been granted simply nothing.”—“New Ross Standard,” June 15, 1895.

“This so-called Liberal Alliance is one of the greatest curses that ever afflicted this country.”—“Leinster Leader,” July 14, 1894.

“For three years Ireland has been kept quiet by the fair promises of English statesmen. Not one of these promises has been fulfilled. The Tories certainly tell you that they mean to do what they say. On the other hand, the Liberals never by any chance say what they mean. Their political life has been maintained during the last three years by hypocrisy and lying.”—“Waterford News,” June 29, 1895.

“The meanest and most worthless of all possible Governments has come crash to the ground. It is enough to know that so far as Ireland is concerned we stand where we were four years ago, with no positive work of any kind accomplished, but much in a negative sense full of harm, disaster, and disgrace. Home Rule to-day is as dead as Julius Caesar, fit only to stop a hole in the Liberal programme to keep the wind away.”—“Western People,” June 29, 1895.

And in these striking phrases the Irish exploits of the Home Rule Government of 1892-1895 are sufficiently described.

I am far from saying that language far more violent and intimidating than the foregoing has not been hurled against the various Chief Secretaries and Leaders of the Unionist party from time to time, and from the same quarters. Of course it has; but nobody minded, since Ireland was known to be prospering all the time, in spite of the absence of heroic legislation.

in the shape of Home Rule Bills which cannot pass into law. Besides which, the Unionist party must expect hard language, for it is the declared enemy of the agitator and all his works. The Radical party, on the other hand, is but a wing of the Home Rule army, and is entitled to handsome treatment from its partner. And this campaign of harsh invective is once more beginning against the present Government, Home Rule Government though it be ; for the Irishmen are beginning to scent the old rat-programme of 1886 and 1893, which promised a new heaven and a new earth to "dark Rosaleen," but never spared a farthing for the alleviation of her sufferings. **From 1892-1895 no money passed between the two islands—except to come out of Ireland.** But for twenty years (with the exception of those three lean ones) the Unionist party and the British people have shown that sympathy, when expressed in terms of money and good administration, is worth more to a struggling people than any quantity of sentiment, and that the advantage of sharing the contents of a well-filled Treasury is even more effective than the repeated offer of a Home Rule Bill.

XIII.—HOME RULE AND BRITISH TRADE.

By Sir George Bartley, K.C.B.

In contemplating the financial effect of Home Rule, or Devolution, for Ireland on the taxpayers of Great Britain, it is most important to consider its influence on the trade which now goes on between the two Islands, to the mutual advantage of each portion of the United Kingdom.

It is clear that, with a separate Parliament in Dublin, even if it only had the same powers as a Parliament of one of our self-governing Colonies, the policy that would be pursued by that Parliament would be solely in the interest of Ireland itself. The interest of Great Britain certainly would not be considered, nor would that of the two Islands taken together as one. We could not wonder at this, and indeed it would seem to be the duty of the Irish Parliament to act absolutely in the interest of those whom they represented, namely, the people of Ireland.

A Fiscal Question.

The first question that would arise, and have to be settled, by the Irish Parliament is whether or not Ireland would remain a so-called free trade country ; that is, whether her fiscal policy would be the same as it is now, as part of the United Kingdom, or whether any drastic change would be at once carried out. To those who have listened to Irish debates and have studied the views of the representatives of Ireland for the last 20 or 30 years, it will be clear that Ireland, when able so to do, would at once change her fiscal policy. She would follow the example of other countries and of our Colonies, and attempt in every way by protective duties, to foster and stimulate her own manufactures and to encourage employment within her own boundaries.

Whether this line of policy would be good for her is not the question ; and, however strongly theorists here might argue against this change, there can be hardly a doubt that this policy would be very soon adopted and actively pursued. It is possible that the very fact that it was different to the practice of Great Britain, and so would tend to separate the

two Islands still further, might act as an inducement for its adoption, and would stimulate its progress rather than the reverse.

What effect would this have on England and Scotland? That it would be prejudicial, few would venture to deny; and the amount of the injury which it would inflict on Great Britain would depend in no small degree upon whether Great Britain maintained her present fiscal policy or not. If she changed it, and was able to make terms with Ireland, then the loss to Great Britain might be limited perhaps to the friction and irritation of a custom house between the two Islands. This would, of course, hamper trade and tend to restrict it, so that many articles which now go to Ireland would not go thither, and considerable loss and reduction of employment for this reduced trade would fall upon us.

British Trade with Ireland.

If, however, we remained a so-called free trade country, with Ireland a protected one, the consequences would be more serious. It is true that no statistics exist to show with precision what transfers of merchandise take place between the two Islands, but that there is a very large and growing trade we know. We send to Ireland every sort of manufactured article, and we receive from her chiefly agricultural produce, and live stock, cattle, sheep, swine, and horses. In the report of the Agricultural Statistics of Ireland for 1904, some of the averages of these exports to Great Britain are given, and from this it appears that over 73,000 cattle, 88,000 sheep, 58,000 swine, and 3,500 horses come annually from Ireland to England. These are paid for chiefly, if not entirely, by manufactured goods, which of course are imported to Ireland without any duty.

With a hostile tariff against Great Britain, this would not continue in anything like the same proportion. Everything that could be made in Ireland would be made there; fewer of our manufactured goods would go over, but the agricultural produce and live stock from Ireland would, possibly in increasing quantities, be received here. Our ports would be the nearest to Ireland, and they would be open and free to these goods, as few, if any, other ports would be. They would have to be paid for by Great Britain; and, as a hostile tariff would exist, not only for revenue purposes, but to promote native industries in Ireland, payment would have to be made largely in gold, and less and less in English manufactured goods. This would mean a serious reduction of employment on this side of the Channel, to say nothing of the additional drain on our gold reserves.

We must bear in mind, as we have stated, that Great Britain would be Ireland's nearest and best market for all sorts of agricultural produce and live stock. The Irish Parliament and Government would do all in their power to promote agriculture, which must always be the greatest resource of Ireland, and their success in this matter would be desired by all. It would, however, mean a more and more serious competition here with agriculture, which is still our largest, and at the same time our poorest, industry. Cattle, butter, eggs, poultry are now the only means in many places of enabling agriculture in England to earn even a meagre living, and with an ever increasing quantity of farm produce imported freely from Ireland the outlook for the English farmer must be even worse than it is.

We then get two results of Home Rule, or Devolution, in Ireland on the trade of Great Britain: a serious reduction of employment in manufactures, and the prospect of still more serious interference with our

agricultural interests which are even now in such an unsatisfactory condition in so many districts.

Heads ! Ireland Wins.

Another point to be considered, with reference to the effect on the English taxpayer, with a hostile tariff in Ireland, is that a reduced production will be involved of the cheaper articles now manufactured in large quantities for the poorer English and Irish market. This would mean that they will cost more to produce, and the price to the poor in England will be proportionately increased.

It may be argued by Irish Nationalists that Home Rule, or Devolution, will make Ireland so much more prosperous that she will become a better customer for things—and there will be many—which she cannot herself produce. If we can grant this hypothesis, there may be some truth in it ; but if she progresses, as we all hope she may, she will become also more and more self-dependent, and will herself produce many things with which we now supply her. This, though it may be good for Ireland, will reduce employment here.

If, on the other hand, Home Rule does not advance her prosperity, as many think will be the case, when she is cut off from her richer and more successful partner, she will become poorer even than she is now. If this be so, she will be unable to purchase our manufactures and the cash obtained for her agricultural shipments to England will be expended not in England, but in the cheapest kinds of food from America and elsewhere abroad.

Tails ! Britain Loses.

The general conclusions must be then that, though it is impossible from our present statistical facts to state exactly what the loss to this country will be in our trading relations with Ireland under Home Rule, it is clear that in every direction loss, and heavy loss, will follow to Great Britain. If Ireland retains the present fiscal policy which we have, there will be loss ; but if she adopts what everyone thinks she will adopt, a protective fiscal policy, the loss to Great Britain will be very great.

Again, we ask, why is the taxpayer of England and Scotland to suffer this loss ? If it were for Ireland's gain, it would be a heavy burden to place on the poorer taxpayers here ; though to promote the well-being of our sister Island, as a partner with us, we, the richer and more prosperous partners, might consent. To separate Ireland from us, however, and to run the risk of making her at least antagonistic, and possibly dangerously antagonistic, at a critical time, is bad enough ; but to do this at a heavy cost to our own taxpayers seems, to say the least of it, quixotic and hardly sane.

XIV.—DEVOLUTION AND THE NATIONAL DEBT.

Sir George C. T. Bartley, K.C.B.

IN a former article* I referred to the effect of Home Rule or Devolution on the English and Scotch taxpayer in connection with the very large sums, amounting to more than £50,000,000, which have been advanced with a view to enable the Irish tenant to become the owner of his holding.

* "IRISH FACTS," May, 1907, page 68.

I showed that, were Home Rule granted, there was every prospect of a heavy loss accruing to Great Britain from this source. It must not be supposed, however, that this exhausts the financial risk which Devolution or Home Rule involves to the Predominant Partner.

Another subject to consider is how Home Rule or Devolution affects the British taxpayer in connection with the National Debt. It is not necessary to enter upon the history of the Debt, except to say that it was very largely increased after the Union of Great Britain and Ireland had taken place, for no less than £900,000,000 was raised between 1803 and 1815. On March 31, 1906, the Debt, after deducting assets and Exchequer balances, amounted to over £734,000,000. The responsibility for the interest and ultimate repayment of this large sum is now divided between Ireland and Great Britain.

The Taxation of Ireland.

The Irish contention has always been that Ireland now pays a great deal too much to the Imperial Exchequer, including, of course, her share of the burden of the National Debt. Her Home Rule representatives in the House of Commons are never tired of asserting this, and of repudiating most of the objects for which the Debt has been incurred, and certainly all the increases to it of late years. A great effort would certainly be made, therefore, in settling the detailed arrangements for Home Rule or Devolution, to relieve Ireland altogether of any share in this Debt. Her hatred of the objects for which it was incurred would be urged; her poverty; the hardship of saddling her at her emancipation with so heavy a burden; these would be arguments that would be difficult to overcome, especially when made and pressed on a Government whose leading characteristic is to follow the line of least resistance. If this course were pursued, and if no part of the Debt were apportioned to Ireland when Home Rule was established, it is needless to say that a very serious addition would be involved to the taxpayer of Great Britain. It would mean a permanent increase of a very large sum each year to the Budget expenditure of Great Britain, and also the responsibility of repaying the capital value of the Irish, as well as of the English and Scotch share of the Debt.

Taking, however, a less adverse view, and supposing that the Debt is divided between the two Islands, how would it be apportioned between Great Britain and Ireland?

Under the Act of Union, Ireland was to contribute in the proportion of 1 to 7½ to the joint expenditure of the United Kingdom. If this were adopted as the proper relative incidence of the National Debt, England would take about £637,000,000 and Ireland £97,000,000; or at 2½ per cent., £2,425,000 would have to be paid annually by Ireland as her interest only on the Debt. It is needless to say that such a sum could not be obtained, though at the time of the Union that was the proportion considered as fair.

The Royal Commission's Report.

The ratio of expenditure and taxation was considered by the Royal Commission on the Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland in 1896, and their Final Report may be referred to in this matter. It is not a unanimous Report, and those who signed it were largely Irishmen. It says that whilst the actual tax revenue of Ireland is about one-eleventh

of that of Great Britain, the relative taxable capacity of Ireland is very much smaller, and is not estimated by any of those who signed the Report as exceeding one-twentieth. Putting this into other words, the contention was that Ireland now pays one-eleventh, but should only pay one-twentieth, or, to express it in money, for every 20s. she now pays to the common purse of the United Kingdom, she should only be called upon to pay 11s. This means that Ireland now bears one-eleventh of the annual cost of the interest on the Debt, which is about £1,668,000 per annum, out of the total cost of £18,350,000 per annum; but these members of the Commission claim that she should only be asked to pay £917,500—a total reduced by the sum of £750,000. Whatever view may be taken as to the equity of this arrangement (and it is hardly necessary to say that the views are not by any means unanimously accepted as correct), if Devolution or Home Rule were established in Ireland and the Debt divided between the two countries, we could not on the most favourable terms expect Ireland to accept more onerous terms than those accepted by the Commission. The obvious fact therefore must remain that, on this calculation, an additional £750,000 per annum would be thrown on the taxpayers of England and Scotland, and a corresponding liability for the capital sum, which at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is £30,000,000, were Home Rule or Devolution granted.

We get, then, these three figures. If Ireland paid her share of the Debt according to the proportion arranged at the Union, she would pay annually £2,425,000. If she paid according to what she is now contributing to the Revenue, her present actual annual payment Debt would be £1,668,172. If she paid according to what the majority of the Irish members of the Commission considered her full share, she would pay £917,500 per annum. This would involve an increase of £750,000 to the taxpayers of England and Scotland, as, of course, the whole balance of the charges on the Debt will have to be met by them.

It will be argued by the Irish Nationalists and their allies that the effect of Home Rule or Devolution will be so beneficial, the indirect advantages of the Union of Hearts by the separation of the United Kingdom so great, that the taxpayers of England and Scotland will do well to agree to this heavy loss on the Debt involved in only receiving £917,500 per annum from Ireland on account of her share. The practical Englishman and Scotchman may be excused for having his doubts on this view of the matter. For argument's sake, however, suppose it is so. The next question which the British taxpayer may reasonably ask is, what security is there for ever obtaining this reduced amount, and how long is it likely that this reduced amount will be paid?

Face the Facts.

For Ireland to prosper it is clear that one of her chief wants for many years to come will be an increase of capital. That capital she can now only get with difficulty; but when Home Rule is established the rate for capital will be very much higher. This burden will grow as her own indebtedness raised by her own Parliament increases; and in times of distress, even if Ireland should desire to continue to pay her obligations for what will be called the English Debt or tribute or tax, it will be very difficult for her to do so. Is it not certain that this payment to England for debts to which she has always objected will be more and more resented? The political feeling will enter into this, as in most other matters, and

repudiations of this hated impost will be a plank on the platforms at elections. The repudiation of debt by countries is not an unheard-of thing, and as this would be associated with all the agitation of the nineteenth century, can we, as reasonable persons, suppose that no attempt will be made, under the pressure of distress or financial difficulty, to repudiate it ?

It may be said that, with some States, debts are paid not so much from a desire to be honest, as from the knowledge that further loans will certainly be needed. Is this likely to be of force between England and Ireland after Home Rule is granted ? Even now Irish private enterprise financed by England is but scarce, and in the high tide of company-promoting few financiers were bold enough to suggest schemes for investing English and Scotch money in Ireland. Will this be even dreamed of after Home Rule has been adopted ? Of gratitude to England we know there will be none ; nor will there be even gratitude in the hope of favours or loans to come.

If Ireland should Repudiate.

Should, then, Ireland fail to pay her part of her debt, what is the remedy that Great Britain can adopt ? We may withhold our subsidies if there are any to withhold ; but it is hardly likely that even this present Government will propose that we shall, after Home Rule, continue to make grants of any substantial amount to Ireland. Failing this, we have no more power to enforce payment than we have with any foreign country. We have at times threatened some defaulting States, but little or nothing has come of it. Public sentiment would not allow us now to threaten, much less make war, even with Turkey, to obtain payment ; and the very idea of war or of threatening war with Ireland to obtain payment of debt is too absurd even to be suggested. The fact must be faced that in granting Home Rule or Devolution to Ireland, we must expect that she will be unable to pay her share of the interest of the National Debt, and that Great Britain will have to defray the whole of the Debt herself, at a very heavy additional burden to our people.

Though Great Britain is willing and glad to do much, and to sacrifice much for the good of Ireland while she remains an integral part of the United Kingdom, we ask again, as we asked before, are we prepared not only to break up the United Kingdom, but to tax ourselves most heavily and most unfairly in order to do so ?

INTIMIDATION IN IRELAND.

How Roscommon Fares.

The following letter appeared in "The Times" of May 4:—

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

Sir,—It is to be regretted that Members of Parliament and others, whose "votes and interest" will soon be canvassed in favour of Mr. Birrell's Home Devolution Bill for Ireland, have not the opportunity to make a study of the newspapers which are published weekly in the disturbed districts of Ireland. They would soon discover that methods of intimidation (other than boycotting tenants and threatening landlords) are now resorted to which would not be tolerated for a week, either by the magistrates or the population, if they were attempted in England.

The British Government has reduced the landlord difficulty to a minimum by the introduction of various Land Bills since 1881 which facilitate the purchase and sale of real estate; the United Irish League and the Ancient Order of Hibernians have found that an organized system of boycotting soon brings the poor tenant to his knees; it only remained to discover a means of making life unbearable for the grazier who hired untenanted lands upon which he could feed his cattle. A way has been found; and, without desiring to make Mr. Redmond's party jealous of one of their number, I understand that the credit of this discovery belongs to Mr. Ginnell, M.P. With your permission I will bring to the notice of the British public, of Mr. Birrell, and of others whom it may concern, the course of this campaign of intimidation which, unless it be dealt with by means far more summary than those already adopted, will turn the grazing lands of Ireland into a howling wilderness of uneconomic holdings. In October last Mr. Ginnell, M.P., made a speech at Mullingar which "lighted the match that set fire to the heather in Roscommon." In the course of his remarks he said that—

"Those large Kerry cattle are able to run 30 or 40 miles in a single night, and if the graziers found their ranches empty some fine morning, and after six or eight weeks' searching found their cattle not together, but some in Connaught, some in Munster, some among the Wicklow mountains" (a voice—"And some in hell" [laughter]). . . . The orator failed to finish this sentence. "And if this wandering mania became fashionable and general amongst the ranching cattle all over the country, and if they persisted in it, the ranchers would lose their taste for the people's land, and no injustice would have been done to anyone."

The immediate result of this advice will be noted in the treatment of Mr. John Beirne, of Tonlagee. Having refused to sell his property for £10, though he offered to sell for £100, he took possession of his land and proceeded to stock it.

On November 7, 1906, Beirne sent 40 head of cattle in charge of a herd to be placed on the farm. They were met by a mob armed with sticks and having drums and horns. This crowd drove the cattle away, beating them cruelly with sticks. Police were present, but were unable to prevent the riot. They, however, fully identified nine persons who took a

prominent part in the assembly. These persons were returned for trial on a charge of unlawful assembly, and were first tried at Sligo Winter Assizes. Mr. Justice Gibson, in charging the jury at Sligo, wound up by saying:—"What they had to consider was, Did this crowd assemble on this day to prevent the cattle going to Tonlagree farm? If they did, they are guilty, and if they believed they did and did not find them guilty they were violating their oaths." The jury disagreed.

They were again tried at Roscommon on March 11, and acquitted. No evidence whatever was offered for the defence. Mr. Justice Kenny pointed out that there was no question of the prisoners' guilt, and on hearing the verdict said to the Crown Solicitor, "I hope you will see that no member of this jury acts on any jury before me in future."

At a public meeting in Ballinasloe, on January 20 last, Mr. Beirne publicly announced his surrender to the League. It would, however, seem, from a letter he has since written to the Press, that he has merely consented to take from the Estates Commissioners the full value of his land. He puts his position very clearly in his letter in the "*Ballinasloe News*" in these words:—"If the Estates Commissioners can endorse the plunder and find public money for the purpose, I am willing to forego my interest in the farm."

Of course this surrender is greeted as a glorious victory for the United Irish League over the forces of law and order, and Mr. Birrell admitted that the Tonlagree farm is to be considered by the Estates Commissioners for purchase, though compulsory sales (such as this is in spirit) are not yet sanctioned by Act of Parliament. No wonder the agitation continued until the condition of affairs in the county of Roscommon is described as being exceedingly serious. At Lecarrow a Mr. O'Brien has given up his farm. Around the town of Roscommon the excitement has reached a very high pitch. The grazing farms in the Beechwood direction are paraded every night by stalwart contingents, headed by their bands. At Ballintubber the people "assembled in no uncertain humour; and, as a result of their peaceable and perfectly legitimate demonstration, the ranch in that district remains idle." There are in all no less than 23 farms menaced by this hurricane of organized intimidation, of which the town of Elphin is the storm centre.

On March 25 a United Irish League meeting was held at Elphin, and the following resolution was passed:—

"That we place on record our most emphatic condemnation of the nefarious practice of taking untenanted lands on the 11 months' system; and furthermore we call upon [here follow a long list of names] to suspend renewing their leases; and in the event of their refusing to comply with our legitimate demand, we give them to understand that practical steps will be taken to induce them to relinquish their hold of these ranches which God and nature intended for the sustenance of a prosperous and contented country."

Preparations were therefore made to enforce these "practical steps" in the course of a demonstration of 800 men with bands on Easter Sunday; but, in anticipation of them, the Government drafted 70 men into the district for the preservation of peace. When the United Irish Leaguers started on their march to the first farm, the tenant of which they desired to intimidate into submission, they found the way barred by a strong force of police, with instructions to refuse them passage.

An indignation meeting was immediately held, which was addressed

by Mr. Cogan, an organizer of the United Irish League. He gave his audience to understand that there would be a warm time for Mr. Birrell over the matter.

"When Parliament assembles," he said, "we will have this matter threshed out, and we will show Dublin Castle and its satellites that we are prepared to carry on the fight, and will until the grazier and grabber are driven from the soil, when you will see the policemen with green jackets, and the Parliamentary party in College Green, with John Redmond at their head."—"Midland Reporter," April 4. Several of the graziers thus intimidated have already surrendered their farms.

On April 7 the great public excitement which has prevailed in Roscommon for the past few weeks reached its climax. A mob of 2,000 people marched from the town to the grazing farms to express their determination to carry their League resolutions into effect; they were followed by a large force of police, and a number of the Royal Irish Constabulary were detailed to protect the graziers' live stock.

On April 8 a similar demonstration took place against a tenant who had taken possession of lands at Fohernagh. On this occasion there were between 600 and 700 "stalwarts" assembled to prevent the stocking of the farm; but, unfortunately for them, the cattle did not arrive, and the stalwarts had to content themselves with blowing horns and holding an indignation meeting.

On April 14 another grand exhibition of "peaceful persuasion" was attempted, in which the demeanour of the enormous crowd assembled was so determined and the language used was so impressive that it recalled to the enthusiastic reporter of the "*Roscommon Herald*" the halcyon days of the agitation in the "eighties." Fortunately the graziers, and the neighbours generally, were protected by a very large draft of police from outside the district, a precaution which was attributed by one of the orators not to Mr. Birrell ("whom he was certain had nothing to do with it"), but to the anti-Nationalist party in Dublin Castle. It matters little who is to get the credit for this prevision which resulted in the meeting concluding under circumstances of unexpected tranquility.

On April 21 about 1,000 persons marched in the direction of Fohernagh Farm, which had been similarly visited on April 8. There was a force of 80 police located on the farm during the day, so the crowd held a demonstration, "denouncing grazierism and grabberism," on the public road, about 300 yards from the farm. Another meeting of a similar character took place at Ballintubber, where the mention of graziers and grabbers was received "with a storm of groans. This concluded the proceedings, which were most enthusiastic and triumphant." (*The "Westmeath Nationalist,"* April 27.)

On the same day, at Portobello, in Roscommon, an "enthusiastic public meeting was held to condemn the graziers in the neighbourhood. Shortly before the meeting Sergeant Costello intimated his intention of prosecuting the organizers of the meeting should the names of any grass-jobbers be mentioned at the meeting. His observations were received with a storm of hooting and groans." (*"Roscommon Herald,"* April 27.) The usual violent resolutions were passed, but no names were mentioned.

April 24.—An immense concourse of people assembled in Elphin to record their disapproval of those engaged in the ranching system on

the Palace and Shankhill lands. "The procession was confronted by 100 police. It was expected that the procession would be intercepted, but at the last moment the police, thinking discretion the better part of valour, lined on each side of the road and the crowd moved on, the bands playing the 'Dead March.'" (*"Roscommon Herald,"* April 27.)

April 25.—A monster demonstration at Carrick-on-Shannon against graziers. The mob was met by police with batons drawn, but was ultimately permitted to parade the town. As a result, large herds of cattle which were on their way to the grazing lands in Roscommon were driven off and dispersed, pursued by their unfortunate drovers from across the Shannon. This daring feat of arms is chronicled with exultation in the '*Roscommon Herald*,' which declares that—

"The great movement against the ranching system in Roscommon has now attained such dimensions that it would be impossible for Chief Secretary Birrell to stay it even if he wished to. But everybody knows in his heart that Mr. Birrell privately would be only too delighted if the people themselves, by rough and ready means, found a remedy for the grazing evil. . . Police in squads on bicycles are to be met with at all hours of the night on the Roscommon roads, but they are powerless against the uprising of the people's indignation. . . Let county councillors and district councillors stand in the front rank on these occasions, and success is assured; because, although the police may growl, they know that Mr. Birrell will never countenance any attack by them on men elected by the people."

Such are the men to whom the present Government proposes to hand over a large part of the administration of Irish affairs in accordance with "Irish ideas."

I cannot impress too strongly upon the law-abiding people of Great Britain that the foregoing are not isolated examples of disorder; they are not harmless exhibitions of Irish exuberance, but are fraught with danger to the lives and living of many of his Majesty's subjects; they are not promoted by irresponsible fanatics, but by the accredited instruments of the Irish Parliamentary party, Members and others, of whose language we shall do well to take note. The following examples will suffice:—

Mr. FitzGibbon, chairman of the Roscommon County Council, declared on February 24 that "they should see that the occupiers have neither ease nor peace till they gave up their farms"; and again, on April 7, "Give him 12 men, in any district, of the right stuff, and if they got to work and organized they could lead on 1,200 men against the accursed system of grazing."

Mr. T. F. Smyth, M.P., who was loudly cheered on coming forward at the same meeting, said the 11 months' system was the cause, to a great extent, of driving the people from the land and giving it over to the graziers' bullocks. If the people were determined, any landlord could be brought to a sense of his duty by the farmers being loyal to themselves. The grabber was worse than the devil, as it was easy enough to get rid of the old boy, but very hard to get rid of the grabber. (Laughter.) He was referring to the bog grabber, the grass grabber, and the house grabber, and matters should be made as hot as hell for them. The grabber was a greater enemy than the landlord, for if they had not the grabber to fall back upon there would be no men to take the evicted lands. Such men would have to go. (A voice, "And the devil go with them.")

Mr. Ginnell, M.P., is responsible for the following advice at Killulagh on February 3:—

“ They knew that in other places they had attacked the ranchers’ cattle and had driven them off the land out on the road in broad daylight. They knew that they got some trouble as a result. If those people in his constituency were prepared to take similar action, he (Mr. Ginnell) was prepared to accompany them any day or night; he cared not who disliked it. . .

“ In Killulagh, or anywhere else where the people had the courage to attack the bullocks and clear the land, then he was with them day or night, or any other time they were prepared to take action of that kind.”—“ *Midland Reporter*,” February 7, 1907.

How futile sounds the unctuous advice given by Mr. John Redmond, M.P., at Liverpool on March 17 to all who needed it—“ The motto of the Irish party might well be ‘In essentials Unity, in non-essentials Liberty, and in all things Charity.’ ”

Your obedient servant,

IAN MALCOLM.

IRISH COUNCIL BILL.

TEXT OF THE MEASURE.

A BILL

To provide for the Establishment and functions of an Administrative Council in Ireland and for other purposes connected therewith.

Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :—

PART I.—CONSTITUTION AND FUNCTIONS OF IRISH COUNCIL.

Establishment and Constitution of the Irish Council.

1.—(1) A Council shall be established, to be called the Irish Council, consisting of eighty-two elected members and twenty-four nominated members, with the addition of the Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant as an *ex officio* member.

[See Schedules I. and II. generally for further details of Clause I. The position of the Under-Secretary will be strange. As a permanent official he will be a subordinate of the Chief Secretary, and of the Lord Lieutenant. Yet as an individual member of the Council he may speak and vote for resolutions which his superiors may afterwards annul, and he may dispute with the Chief Secretary in the debates of the Council.]

(2) The elected members of the Irish Council shall be elected by the local government electors of the constituencies set out in the First Schedule to this Act, in such manner and with such number of members for each constituency as is provided by that schedule.

[See Schedule II., Articles 1 and 2, and notes thereon.]

(3) The nominated members of the Irish Council shall be nominated by His Majesty for or during the first term of office of those members, but after the expiration of the first term of office shall be nominated by the Lord Lieutenant.

[The distinction between nomination by His Majesty and nomination by the Lord Lieutenant is not clear. The Crown only acts on the advice of Ministers, and the Lord Lieutenant is a Minister or a subordinate of Ministers.]

(4) The President of the Council shall be a member of the Council appointed by the Council.

(5) The Chief Secretary, though not a member of the Council and not entitled to vote, shall have the right to be present at meetings of the Council, or any committee thereof, and to speak at any such meeting.

(6) The provisions in the Second Schedule to this Act shall have effect with respect to the Council and the members and proceedings thereof.

Functions of the Irish Council.

2.—(1) The Irish Council shall have control in accordance with this Act over the exercise of the powers to which this Act applies, and the departments or authorities in whom those powers are for the time being vested shall act in accordance with any resolution of the Irish Council with respect to the exercise of those powers, and shall obey any directions.

given by the Council with respect to the submission of any matters relating to the exercise of those powers to the Council.

[The phrase "powers to which this Act applies" needs to be carefully noted, as it is the governing phrase of the Bill, and will be found repeated throughout with reference to Clause 2. The powers covered by this phrase are indicated in Subsection (2) below, either directly or by reference to other parts of the Bill.

The scheme of the Bill is that none of such powers should be actually transferred to and made to vest in the Irish Council. The Council and the authorities having the powers are kept separate, and the channel of communication by which the control of the former over the latter is to be secured will consist of resolutions of the Council communicated formally to the departments and authorities concerned. The latter words of the subsection enable the Council to issue informal directions with respect only to the bare reference of matters to itself. Clause 21 (2) must also be considered with reference to the working of the above Subsection.]

(2) The powers to which this Act applies are :—

- (A) any powers vested at the time of the passing of this Act in the following departments and authorities, namely, the Local Government Board for Ireland, the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, the Congested Districts Board for Ireland, the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools, the Registrar-General, the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, and the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland ; and

[The functions of these eight departments are described in Part IV. of the Introduction.]

- (B) any powers vested in the Lord Lieutenant or Chief Secretary at the time of the passing of this Act of controlling, regulating, or directing, or appointing officers in connection with, or otherwise incidental to, the exercise of the above-mentioned powers, and the powers of the Lord Lieutenant with respect to the control of the Estates Commissioners under subsection (8) of section twenty-three of the Irish Land Act, 1903 ; and

[Under various statutes and as representatives of the Crown in Ireland, the Lord Lieutenant or the Chief Secretary have certain powers over the civil servants who form the staff of the above-mentioned departments. To complete the Council's control over the departments it is therefore necessary to make such powers also "powers to which this Act applies," *i.e.*, which come under the control of the Council. The same circumlocution is, however, preserved ; the Council will not itself be able to command an officer to do a necessary administrative act, but will have to command the Lord Lieutenant to command the officer to do the act. As to the appointment of officers, see also Clause 22. As to the Estates Commissioners, see Introduction, Part IV.]

- (C) any other powers which may be declared to be powers to which this Act applies under this Act or under the provision made for the purpose by this section, and any powers given by any Act passed after the date of the passing of this Act to the Lord Lieutenant or to any Government Department in Ireland which are not powers expressly excluded from the operation of this Act.

[There are three cases contemplated by the above paragraph—(a) powers dealt with by other clauses of the Bill, *e.g.*, 6 (5), 9 (2), 10 (3), and 22 (1) (c) ; (b) powers dealt with under Subsection (3) of Clause 2 below ; and (c) any powers which subsequent legislation may confer upon any Irish Department. The effect of this last case will be that in any law conferring such a new power it will be necessary to have a special clause exempting the new power from the operation of this paragraph, unless it is intended that the administration of the law should be under the control of the Irish Council.]

(3) The Lord Lieutenant, after consultation with the Irish Council, may by Order in Council declare that any powers of the authorities specified in the Third Schedule to this Act, and any powers of the Lord Lieutenant

or Chief Secretary in relation to those authorities shall be powers to which this Act applies, and His Majesty may by Order in Council declare that any powers of any Government department or authority in England, so far as they are exercised in or in relation to Ireland, shall be powers to which this Act applies.

[The Departments in the Schedule are dealt with in Part IV. of the Introduction. The latter part of Subsection (3) appears very far reaching. Mr. Birrell stated in his speech introducing the Bill that there were 12 English departments exercising powers in Ireland, and instanced Customs, Inland Revenue, and Post Office. There seems nothing in the wording of the subsection to exclude the War Office or the Admiralty, or, generally, any of the prerogatives of the Crown with reference to Naval or Military forces or other matters, the control of which might thus be transferred to the Irish Council by the administrative act of the Government.]

(4) Any Order under this section declaring powers to be powers to which this Act applies may make any provision as to the transfer of those powers or otherwise with respect to those powers which it appears necessary or expedient to make with a view to giving full effect to the purposes of the Order.

[This subsection has a consequential ring about it, but, in view of the novelty of the provisions of the Bill to which it applies, it needs full discussion. As Mr. Birrell assured the House of Commons that there would be no "transfer" of powers in the strict sense at all, it is a little difficult to be certain what is the precise intention of the subsection.]

Power of Lord Lieutenant to Reserve Questions.

3.—(1) The Lord Lieutenant may reserve any resolution of the Irish Council on any matter relating to the exercise of powers to which this Act applies for his consideration, and any resolution so reserved shall not operate unless and until it is confirmed by him.

[See the notes upon the whole clause at end of Subsection (3). As the phrase "powers to which this Act applies" as defined by Clause 2 (2) does not apparently include the new financial powers given under Part II., resolutions relating to such financial powers, it is submitted, will not be subject to any veto by the Lord Lieutenant.]

(2) On the consideration of any resolution so reserved, the Lord Lieutenant may either confirm the resolution of the Council, or annul the resolution, or remit the matter for further consideration by the Council, together with any statement of his opinion he thinks fit to make thereon, but, if in the opinion of the Lord Lieutenant immediate action is necessary with respect to the matter to which the resolution relates, in order to preserve the efficiency of the service, or to prevent public or private injury, the Lord Lieutenant may make such order with respect to the matter as in his opinion the necessity of the case requires, and any order so made shall have the same effect and operate in the same manner as if it were the resolution of the Irish Council.

(3) The Lord Lieutenant, in cases where he does not concur with any resolution of a committee with reference to any matter which is delegated by the Council to that committee, may require the resolution to be submitted to the Council for their approval, notwithstanding that the resolution would not otherwise be subject to the approval of the Council.

[See Part II. of the Introduction as to the prospects of the efficient working of the scheme disclosed in Clause 3 as a whole. The Lord Lieutenant cannot act except upon a resolution of the Council. If no resolution is passed he must remain passive, so that the Irish Council could bring to a standstill the whole, or any part, of Irish government committed to them by the Bill simply by refusing to take action. Even if a resolution had come before the Lord Lieutenant and he had made an order of his own thereon as a matter of urgency under this clause, it would appear possible for the Council, by refusing to provide the necessary funds, entirely to nullify the effect of the order. (See Clause 11 and note below.)

The words "in order to preserve the efficiency of the service," &c., seem mere rhetoric. Legally they would scarcely have any other effect than if they were written "if the Lord Lieutenant thinks fit."]

PART II.—FINANCIAL PROVISIONS.

Irish Fund and Irish Treasury.

4.—(1) For the purposes of this Act there shall be established a separate fund to be called the Irish Fund and all payments to that Fund shall be paid to the credit of the account of that Fund at the Bank of Ireland or at such other bank as the Irish Council determine.

[The mention of the Bank of Ireland is, as a matter of draughtsmanship, clearly gratuitous. Full power is given to the Council to choose what bank they think fit.]

(2) The Lord Lieutenant shall, by Order in Council, constitute a new Government Department to be called the Irish Treasury, and to be the department concerned with matters relating to the Irish Fund and the general financial administration of this Act.

[Beyond the submission of estimates (Clause 11 (1)) to the Irish Council, the functions of this new Irish Treasury are not defined. Clearly it is a matter which ought to be dealt with in the Bill itself and not by Order in Council. In answer to a question, Mr. Birrell has stated that the new department will be under the control of the Council, but there is nothing in the Bill to this effect.]

(3) The Lord Lieutenant shall, by Order in Council, after consultation with the Irish Council, make regulations with respect to the form in which the accounts of the Irish Fund are to be kept, the payment of any receipts or other sums to the appropriate account in that fund, the banking system to be adopted, and the mode in which money is to be issued out of that fund.

[This subsection deals with matters many of which deserve settlement by Parliament rather than at the discretion of the Government.]

Payments to Irish Fund by direction of Parliament.

5.—(1) *There shall be charged on the Consolidated Fund, or the growing produce thereof, and paid into the Irish Fund the following annual sums of such amounts as may be fixed by Parliament for each successive period of five years :—*

- (A) *for the general purposes of this Act an annual sum (in this Act referred to as the general provision) ; and*
- (B) *for the purpose of public works and the general development of Ireland an annual sum (in this Act referred to as the public works grant) ; and*
- (C) *for the purpose of any expenditure not being ordinary departmental expenditure, and of any expenditure in the nature of capital expenditure other than that provided for by the public works grant, an annual sum (in this Act referred to as the supplemental grant).*

(2) *The general provision and the public works grant and the supplemental grant shall be paid over in each year to the Irish Fund in accordance with regulations made by the Treasury for the purpose after consultation with the Lord Lieutenant, and those regulations may provide for the retention of any sums due on account of charges declared to be charges on the Irish Fund under this Act or of any sums appearing to the Treasury to be otherwise due to public funds.*

(3) *The amount of the general provision, the public works grant, and the supplemental grant, for the first period of five years shall be the annual sums of three million seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, three hundred thousand pounds, and one hundred and fourteen thousand pounds respectively.*

In fixing the general provision for any future periods, regard shall be had to any benefit to the Exchequer arising during the preceding period from

any savings or reduction on the total expenditure on Irish services in relation to powers other than powers to which the Act applies.

[This clause should be read with Clauses 8 and 11 (see Part I. (B), of the Introduction for its general effect). It is not clear to what extent the definition in Subsection (1) of the "purposes" for which payments are to be made from the Imperial Exchequer into the Irish Fund will have a mandatory effect so as to prevent, for instance, the diversion of money paid as "general provision" into the "public works" grant. See note to Clause 11 (3).

Strictly speaking, the last paragraph of Subsection (3) is inoperative, since by it Parliament purports to do what a sovereign body cannot do, namely, to tie its hands as regards future legislation. Viewed, however, as a mere statement of policy, the provision can be taken to mean that if, for instance, owing to the beneficent effect of the Bill it became possible to reduce the Constabulary, the saving would not be credited to the Imperial Budget or to the relief of the Imperial taxpayer (out of whose pockets the money comes), but would go to swell the Irish Fund.]

Expenses and Receipts of Irish Council.

6.—(1) All establishment expenses of the Irish Council and all expenses of or incidental to the exercise of the powers to which this Act applies or otherwise incurred in the execution of this Act or under the powers given by this Act shall be paid out of the Irish Fund, and Parliament shall be relieved of any obligation to provide for those expenses otherwise than by means of the payments directed to be made to the Irish Fund by this Act.

(2) Any limitation of any power to which this Act applies resulting from a limitation under any Act in force at the commencement of this Act of the sums placed at the disposal of the department or authority in whom that power is vested shall cease to have effect, and that power may be exercised, notwithstanding the limitation, if money is provided for the purpose of the exercise of that power under this Act.

(3) Any sum which under any Act is payable otherwise than out of moneys provided by Parliament to any department or authority in whom powers to which this Act applies are vested for the purpose of those powers shall be paid into the Irish Fund, and any payments which under any such Act are charged on any such sum shall be charged on the Irish Fund.

(4) All receipts arising in relation to the exercise of powers to which this Act applies shall be paid into the Irish Fund, except so far as any such receipts are directed by resolution of the Irish Council to be treated as an appropriation in aid of the money provided for expenditure.

(5) Any enactment providing for any consent, approval, sanction, direction, or other form of control on the part of the Treasury, with reference to the exercise of powers to which this Act applies or the application of money for the purpose shall be construed as if the Lord Lieutenant were substituted for the Treasury, but any such consent, approval, sanction, or control shall be deemed to be a power to which this Act applies.

Local Taxation Account and Guarantee Fund.

7.—(1) So much of any Act as directs any payments to be made to the Local Taxation (Ireland) Account out of the Consolidated Fund or out of any revenue shall cease to have effect, but the like amounts shall be paid out of the Irish Fund to that account as would have been paid if this Act had not passed, and shall be distributed and dealt with in the like manner.

(2) Subject to the provisions of this Act all charges on the guarantee fund are declared to be charges on the Irish Fund under this Act, and shall be paid in the first place out of that fund accordingly; but the

Lord Lieutenant shall by regulations provide for any such charges being ultimately borne by counties and authorities in Ireland, and adjusted between counties in Ireland in the same manner, as far as possible, as charges on the guarantee fund are borne and adjusted under the provisions in force at the time of the passing of this Act, and may by those regulations apply with the necessary adaptations the provisions of section six of the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1891, or of any other enactment relating to the manner in which those charges are to be borne or adjusted.

General Account and Supplemental Account in Irish Fund.

8.—(1) The general provision and all receipts which are not directed under this Act or by resolution of the Irish Council to be carried to the supplemental or public works account in the Irish Fund shall be carried to the general account in that fund, and all expenses which are not under this Act directed to be paid out of the supplemental or public works account in the Irish Fund shall be paid out of the general account in that fund.

(2) There shall be carried to a separate account in the Irish Fund, to be called the supplemental account, the supplemental grant and any receipts or other sums which may be directed to be carried to that account by resolution of the Irish Council, and any expenses incurred for the purpose of any expenditure not being ordinary departmental expenditure and of any expenditure in the nature of capital expenditure, other than expenses provided for by the public works grant, shall be paid out of that account.

Public Works Account in Irish Fund.

9.—(1) The following sums shall be carried to a separate account in the Irish Fund, to be called the public works account—

- (A) the public works grant ;
- (B) any sums paid into the Irish Fund on account of the discharge of the interest or principal of any loans ;
- (C) any sums borrowed under this section ; and
- (D) any receipts or other sums which may be directed to be carried to that account by resolution of the Irish Council.

(2) Money standing to the credit of the public works account shall be applicable by the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland either in making any loans or grants which may be made by the Commissioners under any Act for the time being in force, or otherwise for the development of Ireland, either by way of loan or grant, in such manner as may appear beneficial for the purpose.

[The words in Subsection (2) beginning "or otherwise for" are dangerously wide. They will tend to make the best willed department imaginable the prey of the wildest schemers and jobbers ; with a weak or wrong-headed Council anything may be expected under this clause, from the most extravagant experiments in municipal trading to the subsidising of Irish industries at the expense of English ones. The grant, it will be remembered, is a vastly increased one.]

The powers of the Commissioners of Public Works under this provision shall in any case be powers to which this Act applies.

(3) The Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland may borrow, on the security of the Irish Fund, such sums as they may be authorised to borrow by resolution of the Irish Council for any purpose for which money standing to the credit of the public works account is applicable under this section.

(4) The National Debt Commissioners may, subject to the provisions of section six of the National Debt and Local Loans Act, 1887, advance

out of the Local Loans Fund at the minimum rate of interest allowed for the time being for loans out of that fund for such periods as the Treasury approve, any sums which the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland are authorised to borrow under this section, and any sums payable on account of the discharge of the principal or interest of any such advance are declared to be a charge on the Irish Fund under this Act.

(5) Any sum payable on account of the principal or interest of any money borrowed under this section shall be paid out of the public works account, but if the moneys standing to the credit of that account are not sufficient to satisfy those charges recourse shall be had to the general or supplemental account, and any money paid for the purpose out of either of those accounts shall be repaid to that account out of the public works account.

Outstanding Loans in Ireland.

10.—(1) If an arrangement for the purpose is made between the Treasury and the Lord Lieutenant, all sums paid or applicable in or towards the discharge of the interest or principal of any local loan advanced before the *commencement of this Act* on security in Ireland, or otherwise in respect of such loan, which would, but for the arrangement, be paid to the National Debt Commissioners and carried to the Local Loans Fund, shall be paid into the Irish Fund, and an annuity of such an amount and for such a period as may be arranged shall be paid in respect of the said loans to the National Debt Commissioners for the credit of the Local Loans Fund, and the payment of that annuity is declared to be a charge on the Irish Fund under this Act.

(2) Until any such arrangement is made the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland shall exercise the same powers of collection and recovery and otherwise with respect to those local loans as they exercise at the time of the passing of this Act, but as agents for the Treasury, and all sums applicable in or towards the discharge of the interest or principal of any such loans shall be paid as they are paid at the time of the passing of this Act.

(3) The power of the Lord Lieutenant to make an arrangement under this section shall be a power to which this Act applies.

Estimates and Appropriation.

11.—(1) It shall be the duty of any departments or authorities in whom powers to which this Act applies are vested in every financial year to prepare with respect to those powers estimates of the expenditure for the next financial year under such heads as may be determined by the Irish Council, and those estimates shall be submitted to the Council with the report of the Irish Treasury thereon.

(2) The estimates so submitted shall stand referred to the finance committee of the Council appointed under this Act, and the Council shall, after the estimates have been considered by the committee, by resolution appropriate to each head of expenditure the maximum sum to be expended under that head.

(3) No sums shall be paid out of the Irish Fund for any purpose (other than the purpose of meeting charges which are declared to be charges on the Irish Fund under this Act) except in pursuance of an estimate under this section, nor shall any sums be paid out of that fund for any purpose exceeding the sums appropriated to that purpose under

those estimates or under supplemental estimates prepared, submitted, and considered in like manner: Provided that any surplus arising on money appropriated for one purpose may, on the special recommendation of the Irish Treasury, approved by the finance committee of the Council, be applied in the same financial year for another purpose over and above the maximum expenditure appropriated for that purpose.

[The language of Clause 11 is not very decisive, but it does not appear that either the Irish Treasury or the eight Departments over which the Council is to exercise control have any other than an advisory duty in respect of the financial estimates. No duty is placed upon the Council of making payments out of the Irish Fund, nor, apparently, of making appropriations in the first instance. By remaining passive in either case the Council could bring the whole administration of the Departments to a standstill. Alternatively, by making sparing payments out of money appropriated for one purpose, the Council could, without illegality, under the proviso to Subsection (3), starve one service to the advantage of a favoured one (according to Mr. Birrell the Irish Treasury will be under the control of the Council).]

Audit.

12.—The accounts of the Irish Fund shall be examined and audited by the Comptroller and Auditor-General under section thirty-three of the Exchequer and Audit Departments Act, 1866, as if a minute of the Treasury had been made for the purpose and the Comptroller and Auditor-General shall submit his report on the accounts to the Lord Lieutenant and the Irish Council.

Restriction on Creation of continuing Charges.

13.—(1) A resolution of the Irish Council sanctioning a charge on the general account in the Irish Fund of a continuing character for any new office, work, or service which will make the total amount of any such charges sanctioned in the financial year exceed *ten thousand pounds*, or for any new office, work, or service, the annual cost of which is estimated to exceed *two hundred and fifty pounds*, shall not take effect until the resolution has been laid before the House of Commons for at least forty days.

[This provision does not appear to give the House of Commons any control in the matter, even assuming (what is very unlikely) that time will be allowed by the Government for discussion of any one of the numerous resolutions which will inevitably be laid. The House of Commons may condemn a resolution as much as it likes, but no legal effect will arise from such condemnation, nor any political effect either, since no Minister or any other member in the House will be in any way responsible for the resolution.]

(2) If any question arises as to whether any charge is a charge to which this section applies, that question shall be determined by the Treasury, and their decision shall be final.

Ireland Development Grant.

14.—Until Parliament otherwise determine the following provisions shall have effect with respect to the Ireland development grant:

- (1) The grant shall continue to be payable out of moneys provided by Parliament, but the payment out of that grant of the sum of *twenty thousand pounds* to the Congested Districts Board under section thirty-eight of the Irish Land Act, 1903, shall be discontinued, and the amount of the grant shall accordingly be reduced from *one hundred and eighty-five thousand* to *one hundred and sixty-five thousand pounds*.
- (2) Subject to the payment of any sums which at the time of the passing of this Act are to be paid out of that grant before the

grant becomes applicable as part of the guarantee fund, the grant shall, instead of being applied as provided by the Ireland Development Grant Act, 1903, be applied by the Lord Lieutenant for the purpose of making good any deficiency in respect of the issue at a discount of stock issued under the Irish Land Act, 1903, and any other charge being a charge on the guarantee fund other than a charge in respect of any arrears of purchase annuities under that Act, and any such charge shall be treated as a charge arising in respect of deficiency of capital or income as the Treasury direct.

- (3) Any part of the grant not required for the purpose in any year shall be accumulated and be applicable for the same purpose in any subsequent year.
- (4) The grant shall cease to be part of the guarantee fund, and the guarantee fund shall not be liable to make good any expenses in relation to stock issued under the Irish Land Act, 1903, which can be made good out of the Ireland development grant under this section, except so far as that grant or the accumulations thereof are insufficient for the purpose.

[These provisions are intended to deal with the difficulties which have arisen in connection with the finance of the Irish Land Purchase Act, 1903.]

PART III.—SUPPLEMENTAL PROVISIONS.

Office of Lord Lieutenant.

15.—Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any Act, every subject of His Majesty shall be qualified to hold the office of Lord Lieutenant without reference to his religious belief.

[Section 12 of the Roman Catholic Relief Act, 1829, while removing certain Roman Catholic disabilities, provided that the offices of Chancellor of Great Britain, Lord Keeper, Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland should not be relieved of any requirements to which they were then subject. In spite of the repeal of the Test Act of Charles II. by the Statute Law Revision Act, 1863, it is doubtful whether a Roman Catholic can hold the office of Lord Lieutenant. To remove the doubt, Mr. Gladstone introduced a Bill into the House of Commons in 1891. (See Hansard, Feb. 4, 1891, Vol. 349, p. 1734.) Mr. Birrell says this clause has the same object. Its relevance in a Bill for establishing an Administrative Council for Ireland is not, at first sight, obvious.]

GENERAL PROVISIONS AS TO BUSINESS OF COUNCIL AND DEPARTMENTS.

No Preference to be shown to Religious Denominations.

16.—In the exercise of any powers to which this Act applies, no preference shall be shown to any religious denomination, and any act or thing done, so far as it gives any such preference, shall, if questioned in accordance with this Act, be declared invalid.

[It will be practically impossible for any effect to be given to this clause in a Court of Law. A provision similar in principle was moved in the House of Lords by Lord Stanley of Alderley as an amendment to the Education Bill of 1906, and was resisted by Lord Crewe on behalf of the Government as being in the nature of a *brutum fulmen*.]

Reference of Questions to Judicial Committee.

17.—The validity of any payment purporting to be made or act or thing purporting to be done under this Act in the exercise of powers to which this Act applies shall not be questioned on the ground that the payment made or the act or thing done is such as to show preference to any religious denomination in contravention of this Act or on the ground

that it is not otherwise in accordance with this Act except within one year after the payment is made or the act or thing done, and then only by proceedings taken before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council by some person appearing to the Committee to be interested.

If any such proceedings are taken, the Judicial Committee shall hear and determine the question, and their decision shall be final.

Compliance with Orders of Court.

18.—Nothing in this Act shall prevent any authority in whom any powers to which this Act applies are for the time being vested from complying with any order of a Court made with respect to the exercise of those powers; and so far as it is necessary to exercise any power to which this Act applies for the purpose, that power may be exercised without any reference or submission of the matter to the Irish Council.

[That the Government should consider this clause necessary is a little significant. Some of the functions of the Departments to be controlled by the Irish Council are duties owed by them to interested parties (see Clause 24 (1)) and capable of being enforced like any other statutory duty by mandamus. But though a mandamus might be obtained against an officer of a Department or the Department itself, the Irish Council might under their powers of control direct the Department or officer not to comply with the Order of the Court. To avoid this deadlock, this provision is inserted nullifying the powers of the Council in such a case. The topsy-turvy character of the whole scheme and the suspicion which some members of the Government at least have of the Irish Council are well illustrated thereby.]

Appointment of Committees, etc.

19.—(1) The Irish Council may appoint such and so many committees, either of a general or a special nature, and consisting of such number of persons as they think fit, for any purposes which in the opinion of the Council will be better regulated and managed by means of those committees, and shall appoint for the purposes of this Act a finance committee, a public works committee, a local government committee, and an education committee.

Subject to the provisions of this Act as to the education committee, the persons appointed to be members of any committee shall be members of the Council.

The chairman of every committee appointed under this section shall be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant from amongst the members of the Council.

(2) The Council may delegate to any such committee any matter which they think it expedient to delegate, with or without any restrictions or conditions, as they may think fit.

[The phrase "any matter" is a little vague and does not make it clear how far the Council may surrender to a Committee (from which all Unionists may have been excluded) the complete discharge of any of their powers.]

(3) The Lord Lieutenant may appoint persons having experience in education and not being members of the Council to be additional members of the education committee, but the number of additional members so appointed shall not exceed six, or one quarter of the total number of the members of the committee, whichever number is the larger.

Women may be appointed as additional members of the education committee.

(4) The Council may order the payment to the president of the Council, and to the chairman of any committees of the Council of such salaries as they think fit to assign in each case, and may order the payment to members of the Council of such sums on account of travelling and other

expenses of attending the Council or any committee thereof as they think fit.

[The degree to which this provision will enable members of the Council practically to be paid out of Imperial funds is difficult to foresee. The phrase "other expenses of attending the Council" seems capable of indefinite extension.]

Re-organisation of Government Departments.

20.—(1) The Lord Lieutenant shall, by Order in Council, to be made as soon as may be after the passing of this Act, constitute an Education Department for Ireland, and transfer to the department so constituted the powers vested at the time of the passing of this Act in the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland and the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, and as from the date on which the Order comes into operation, those Commissioners and that Board shall be dissolved.

[See Introduction, Parts II. and IV. as to these departments and the method chosen of legislating by Orders in Council.]

(2) The provisions of subsection (3) of section five of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878, and any other provision of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Acts, 1878 to 1900, which makes the payments to managers of schools dependent on the results of public examinations of students, shall cease to have effect, and subject to the other provisions of those Acts and to the provisions of this Act, those payments may be made at the discretion of the department or authority for the time being exercising the powers under those Acts.

(3) The Lord Lieutenant may for the purpose of giving effect to this Act, after consultation with the Irish Council, by Order in Council constitute new Government departments, and re-organise, amalgamate, and if necessary dissolve any Government departments or authorities in Ireland in whom any powers to which the Act applies are for the time being vested (including the authorities specified in the Third Schedule to this Act, and the Council of Agriculture, the Agricultural Board, the Board of Technical Instruction, and any body of persons constituted for the purpose of assisting any Government department or authority in whom powers to which this Act applies are vested).

[See note to Subsection (1) of this clause.]

(4) Any Order made under this section may provide for the transfer of powers from the department or authority dealt with by the Order to any other Government department or authority in Ireland, and for any other matter for which it is necessary or expedient to make provision with a view to giving full effect to the purposes of the Order.

[This is a very far-reaching proposition in conspicuously vague language which might operate to confer unexpectedly wide powers on the Government of the day. See note to Subsection (1) of this clause.]

(5) Any provision constituting the Chief Secretary an ex officio member or president of any Government department or authority in whom powers to which this Act applies are vested shall, on the expiration of the financial year ending the *thirty-first day of March nineteen hundred and nine*, cease to have effect, and any powers vested in the Chief Secretary at that date, which are powers to which this Act applies, shall become powers of the Lord Lieutenant to which this Act applies.

[The language of this subsection is not absolutely clear. Having regard, however, to the general scheme of the Bill, which is to reduce the Chief Secretary and exalt the Lord Lieutenant, it appears probable that the Lord Lieutenant is intended to be actually substituted for the Chief Secretary on any of the Departments concerned of which the latter is at present a member. *e.g.*, the Local Government Board and the Congested Districts Board.]

(6) Subsection (3) of section one of the Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899 (which enables the Vice-President of the Department to be a member of Parliament), is hereby repealed.

Provision as to business of Government Departments.

21.—(1) The departments or authorities in whom any powers to which this Act applies are for the time being vested, and all officers of those departments or authorities, shall furnish to the Lord Lieutenant and the Irish Council or any committee thereof any information or assistance which may be required by the Lord Lieutenant or the Council or committee with reference to those powers.

[This and the following subsection ought to be in Part I. of the Bill. It is to be remembered that in the future, if Mr. Birrell's forecasts are carried out, the Irish officials, instead of being members of the British Civil Service as that body is ordinarily understood, will be the appointees of the Irish Council and looking to the Council for promotion and salaries. The direction that the Departments shall assist the Lord Lieutenant is therefore very necessary, but is not sufficient to obviate the need which the Lord Lieutenant will be in of a staff of his own to advise him with regard to the functions of the respective Departments when the resolutions of the Irish Council come before him.]

(2) The mode in which matters are to be submitted to the Council by the departments, authorities, and officers concerned, and the mode in which the resolutions of the Council thereon are to be communicated to the Lord Lieutenant and those departments and officers, shall be such as may be prescribed by general rules made by the Lord Lieutenant after consultation with the Council.

[See notes to Subsection (1) of this clause; the word "mode" indicates that the regulations can only deal with matters of form and cannot affect the substantive provisions of the Bill.]

(3) Notwithstanding anything in this Act, the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland shall not, after the expiration of the financial year ending the *thirty-first day of March nineteen hundred and nine*, be under any obligation to construct, maintain, or manage any buildings or works on behalf of any Government department in England, or on behalf of any authority or Government department in Ireland, where the powers of the department in relation to those buildings or works are not powers to which this Act applies; and the powers of those Commissioners in relation to any such buildings or works shall cease after that date:

Provided that those Commissioners may undertake the construction, maintenance, or management of any such buildings or works on behalf of any such department, if authorised to do so by the Irish Council, and upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed to by the Council.

Officers.

22.—(1) The power to appoint or remove officers to whom this Act applies shall be vested in the authorities or persons in whom that power is vested at the passing of this Act or in whom the power is vested by virtue of any Order constituting or reorganising Government departments made under this Act: Provided that on and after the expiration of the financial year ending the *thirty-first day of March nineteen hundred and nine*—

- (A) Any power to appoint or remove any such officer vested in His Majesty or in a Secretary of State, shall become by virtue of this Act a power vested in the Lord Lieutenant;
- (B) The sanction or consent of the Treasury shall not be required to the appointment or removal of any such officer, and where

the power to appoint or remove any such officer is vested in the Treasury, that power shall become by virtue of this Act a power vested in the Lord Lieutenant; and

- (c) The power to appoint or remove any such officer shall be a power to which this Act applies.

[The general effect of this clause will apparently be to sweep the formal power of appointing officers in the eight Departments primarily concerned and any others the control over which may be transferred to the Irish Council into the net of the Lord Lieutenant's jurisdiction, but only with a view to handing it on to be a matter for the control of the Council under Clause 2. The phrase "officers to whom this Act applies" is defined in Clause 24 (3).]

(2) The Lord Lieutenant may by Order in Council, made after consultation with the Irish Council, provide for the selection of any class of the officers to whom this Act applies from amongst those who have passed examinations held for the admission of persons to the Civil service of the Crown, and until such provision is made, any Orders made by His Majesty in Council, and for the time being in force for the like purpose with respect to Civil servants, shall have effect with respect to officers to whom this Act applies, with the substitution of the Lord Lieutenant for the Treasury.

The provisions of any such Order of the Lord Lieutenant or His Majesty shall be observed except in case where the Irish Council resolve that there are special reasons for not observing those provisions in that case.

[It is not clear why the existing regulations with reference to Civil servants should not continue to apply, but it is still more curious why the Irish Council should be given power at their sole discretion to override the new regulations which the Lord Lieutenant is to make in consultation with them.]

(3) The Irish Council may appoint a clerk to the Council and such other clerks as appear to them required for assisting the clerk to the Council and acting as clerks to committees, and appoint and employ such messengers and other servants as they think fit, and may remove any such clerks, messengers, or servants.

(4) Subject to the provisions of this Act as to existing officers, there shall be paid to officers to whom this Act applies salaries or remuneration according to a scale to be determined by resolution of the Council.

(5) All existing officers to whom this Act applies shall continue to perform the same duties as they perform on the expiration of the financial year ending the *thirty-first day of March nineteen hundred and nine*, or duties analogous thereto, and any such person shall, while they continue in office, be in no worse position as respects their tenure of office, salaries, or superannuation allowances than they would have been if this Act had not passed:

[The safeguards for existing officers are illusory. Under the proviso they can be dismissed by the Council, while under the main part of Subsection (5) an unpopular officer can be kept permanently without promotion or increase of salary, however senior he may become.]

Provided that any such existing officer, if he gives six months' written notice of his intention to retire under this section at the expiration of two years after the expiration of the financial year ending the *thirty-first day of March nineteen hundred and nine*, or if he is required so to retire by six months' written notice given on the resolution of the Irish Council, shall so retire from office, and, if he so retires from office, shall be entitled to receive such payment out of the Irish Fund as the Lord Lieutenant may award in accordance with the provisions contained in the Fourth Schedule to this Act.

Superannuation Allowances.

23.—Nothing in this Act shall affect the payment to officers to whom this Act applies of superannuation allowances or gratuities under the Superannuation Acts, 1834 to 1892, but the amount of any such superannuation allowance or gratuity payable to any such officer appointed for the first time as such after the expiration of the financial year ending the *thirty-first day of March nineteen hundred and nine* shall be repaid to the Exchequer out of the Irish Fund :

Provided that where the service of any such officer has been partly service as an officer to whom this Act applies and partly some other service which qualifies for the grant of a superannuation allowance or gratuity under those Acts, the amount of the superannuation allowance or gratuity payable under those Acts shall be apportioned in such manner as the Treasury may direct by regulations made for the purpose, and the provisions of this section as to repayment out of the Irish Fund shall only apply as respects the amount apportioned to service as an officer to whom this Act applies.

SUPPLEMENTAL.

Interpretation.

24.—(1) Subject to any express provisions of this Act any reference in this Act to powers shall include a reference to duties and liabilities and any reference to the exercise of powers shall include a reference to the performance of duties and the satisfaction of liabilities.

[This provision is the necessary complement of the phrase "powers to which this Act applies" in Clause 2.]

(2) The expression "office" includes any place, situation or employment, and the expression "officer" shall be construed accordingly.

(3) The expression "officers to whom this Act applies" means officers of authorities in whom the powers to which this Act applies are for the time being vested, other than officers of the Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary; and the expression "existing officers to whom this Act applies" means persons who on the expiration of the financial year ending the *thirty-first day of March nineteen hundred and nine*, are officers of authorities in whom the powers to which this Act applies are at that time vested, other than officers of the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary.

(4) The expression "guarantee fund" means the guarantee fund under the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1891, as amended by subsequent Acts.

(5) Any reference to the Treasury in this Act as distinct from a reference to the Irish Treasury shall be deemed to be a reference to the Treasury as defined by subsection (2) of section twelve of the Interpretation Act, 1889.

Adaptation of Enactments.

25.—The Lord Lieutenant may, by Order in Council, make such adaptations of any enactments relating to powers to which this Act applies, or of any other enactments affected by this Act as appear to him necessary or expedient for carrying into effect this Act or any Order in Council, whether of the Lord Lieutenant in Council or of His Majesty in Council, made thereunder.

[This is another clause apparently intended to be merely of a consequential character, but conceivably having effects very much wider than those usually resulting from clauses of analogous position in other Acts of Parliament.]

Dates for Commencement of Act.

26.—(1) The first election of councillors of the Irish Council shall be held in the year *nineteen hundred and eight* in manner provided in this Act for ordinary elections of the Council, and the first councillors shall come into office on the *fourteenth day of May nineteen hundred and eight*.

(2) The Irish Council shall be deemed to be constituted upon that day, and the Lord Lieutenant shall cause a meeting of the Council to be summoned for that day.

The first business of that meeting shall be to appoint a President of the Council, and until the President is so appointed the Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant shall preside at the meeting.

(3) The first Irish Council shall not enter on their ordinary duties with respect to the control of powers to which this Act applies until the expiration of the financial year ending the *thirty-first day of March nineteen hundred and nine*, but may before that date make provision for the constitution of committees, the preparation of estimates for the coming financial year, consultation with the Lord Lieutenant as to orders or rules to be made under this Act, and for any other matters which may be necessary in order to bring this Act into full operation on that date.

(4) The financial provisions of this Act, except so far as they provide for the constitution of the Irish Treasury, the preparation of estimates, the power to make arrangements as to outstanding loans, and any other matters which are preliminary to bringing those provisions into force, shall not take effect until the expiration of the financial year ending the *thirty-first day of March nineteen hundred and nine*, and *any establishment or other necessary expenses of the Irish Council incurred before that date, including the expenses of any election of councillors held before that date, shall be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament*.

(5) The term of office of the councillors of the first Irish Council shall be four years instead of three years.

(6) Except as provided by this section, and except so far as the contrary intention appears in this Act, the provisions of this Act shall come into operation on the *first day of January nineteen hundred and eight*.

Short Title.

27.—This Act may be cited as the Irish Council Act, 1907.

SCHEDULES.

FIRST SCHEDULE.

CONSTITUTION OF IRISH COUNCIL.

Constituencies.	No. of Members.	Constituencies.	No. of Members.
COUNTY BOROUGHS :—		Counties— <i>continued</i> .	
Dublin	4	King's	1
Belfast	4	Louth	1
Cork	2	Meath	1
Londonderry	1	West Meath	1
Limerick	1	Longford	1
Waterford	1	Cork	7
COUNTIES :—		Kerry	2
Antrim	4	Limerick	2
Londonderry	2	Clare	2
Donegal	4	Tipperary	4
Tyrone	4	Waterford	1
Down	4	Mayo	4
Armagh	3	Galway	4
Cavan	1	Sligo	2
Monaghan	1	Roscommon	2
Fermanagh	1	Leitrim	1
Dublin	2		
Wicklow	1	Elected members	82
Wexford	2		
Carlow	1	Nominated members	24
Kilkenny	1	Ex-officio member	1
Kildare	1		
Queen's	1	Total	107

MODE OF ELECTION.

(1) All elections of councillors of the Irish Council shall be conducted in accordance with election rules framed by the Lord Lieutenant for the purpose.

(2) The area for which members of the Irish Council are elected shall be, in the case of a county borough, the county borough as constituted for the time being, and where more than one councillor is to be elected for any such borough, the councillors to be elected shall be elected for the parliamentary divisions of the borough, and any part of the county borough not included in the parliamentary borough shall be included in the parliamentary division with which it has the greatest common boundary.

The councillors to be elected for counties in Ireland shall be elected for the area of the parliamentary county, but—

- (A) any part of that area which is within a county borough shall be excluded ; and
- (B) the area of the parliamentary boroughs of Newry, Kilkenny, and Galway respectively shall be included in the parliamentary divisions of the counties of Down, Kilkenny, and Galway, respec-

tively with which the area of the borough has the greatest common boundary.

Where more than one councillor is to be elected for a county, and the number of the councillors is the same as the number of the parliamentary divisions of the county, one councillor shall be elected for each parliamentary division.

For the purpose of the election of councillors for the county of Kerry the county shall be divided into two divisions, each division to consist of such two of the parliamentary divisions of the county as the Lord Lieutenant may determine; and one councillor shall be elected for each of the divisions so constituted.

(3) The ordinary election of councillors of the Irish Council shall be held during the period between the thirty-first day of March and the seventh day of May in the year in which the ordinary day of retirement of councillors occurs.

(4) The election rules shall have effect as if enacted in this Act, and shall provide amongst other things—

- (A) for the poll at any such election being taken by ballot;
- (B) for every candidate being nominated in writing by two local government electors as proposer and seconder, and no more;
- (C) for fixing the hours during which the poll is to be kept open; and
- (D) for the appointment of returning officers for the election.

(5) The election rules may apply, with the necessary adaptations, any enactments relating to parliamentary elections or to elections of county councillors in Ireland (including the penal provisions thereof) and including the Local Government (Elections) Act, 1896.

(6) Subject to the provisions of this Act as to elections held before the expiration of the financial year ending the thirty-first day of March nineteen hundred and nine all costs properly incurred in relation to the holding of elections for councillors shall be paid out of the Irish Fund in accordance with a scale of fees fixed for the purpose by order of the Lord Lieutenant made after consultation with the Irish Council.

SECOND SCHEDULE.

MEMBERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL.

(1) Subsection (1) of section 94 of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, and Article 12 of the Schedule to the Local Government (Application of Enactments) Order, 1898 (including the penal provisions thereof), shall apply to elected and appointed members of the Council in the same manner as they apply to county councillors in Ireland, and a person shall not be capable of being an elected or appointed a member of the Council unless he is a local government elector in Ireland within the meaning of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898.

[By 94 (1) of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, no person in holy orders nor any regular minister of any religious denomination is eligible as a county councillor.

By Article 12 of the Schedule to the Order referred to a woman is not eligible for election as a county councillor, and a councillor may not be appointed to an office of profit under the Council; in certain cases also convicts, persons receiving poor relief, and contractors with a county council, are not eligible to membership.]

(2) No officer of any Government department or authority in whom powers to which this Act applies are for the time being vested shall be capable of being a member of the Council; but nothing in this provision

shall prevent the Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant from being an ex-officio member of the Council.

(3) Subject to the provisions of this Act as to the Councillors of the first Irish Council, the term of office of an elected or nominated member of the Council shall be three years, but a retiring member may be re-elected or re-nominated.

(4) On the ordinary day of retirement, the outgoing elected and nominated councillors shall go out of office, and the newly elected or nominated councillors shall come into office.

(5) The ordinary day of retirement shall be the fourteenth day of May in the year nineteen hundred and twelve, and in every third year thereafter.

If the ordinary day of retirement in any year falls on a Sunday, or on a bank holiday, or on any day appointed for public fast, humiliation, or thanksgiving, the ordinary day of retirement shall be taken to be the next day after that day not being a Sunday, bank holiday, or day so appointed.

(6) An elected or nominated member of the Council may resign his office by giving written notice of his resignation to the Lord Lieutenant.

(7) A casual vacancy in the number of elected or nominated members shall be filled by a fresh election or fresh nomination, as the case may be, but a member elected or nominated to fill such a vacancy shall hold office only so long as the member in whose place he is elected or nominated would have held office.

(8) No election or nomination to a casual vacancy need be made if the vacancy occurs within six months of the expiration of the ordinary term of office of the councillor whose place is vacated.

(9) The President of the Council shall hold office until the ordinary day of retirement of the Councillors by whom he is appointed.

The President of the Council may resign his office as president by giving written notice of his resignation to the Lord Lieutenant.

(10) Every question at a meeting of the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes of those present and voting on the question.

The person presiding at a meeting of the Council shall not be entitled to vote except in the case of an equal division of votes, and in that case he shall have a casting vote.

(11) The proceedings of the Council shall not be invalidated by any vacancy in their number or by any defect in the election or appointment of any of their number.

(12) The quorum for a meeting of the Council shall be one-fourth of the number of the whole Council.

(13) Subject to the provisions of this Act, the procedure of the Council and the committees thereof shall be regulated by Standing Orders of the Council.

THIRD SCHEDULE.

The Loan Fund Board.

The Royal Irish Academy of Music.

The Irish National Gallery.

The Royal Hibernian Academy.

The Commissioner of Valuation and Boundary Surveyor.

The Commissioners of Education in Ireland (constituted under the Endowed Schools (Ireland) Act, 1813) or their successors.

The Commissioners of Irish Lights.

The Inspectors of Lunatic Asylums.

FOURTH SCHEDULE.

PROVISIONS AS TO PAYMENTS TO EXISTING OFFICERS RETIRING FROM OFFICE.

(1) The payment which may be awarded by the Lord Lieutenant in the case of any existing officer to whom this Act applies who is serving in the permanent civil service of the Crown or who, though not so serving in the permanent civil service, is in the public service and devotes his whole time to the duties of his office shall be—

- (A) If the officer was serving in a capacity which qualifies him for a pension under the Superannuation Act, 1859, a pension calculated in like manner as has heretofore been the custom under section seven of the Superannuation Act, 1859, and the enactments amending the same, in the case of an officer retiring on abolition of office, that is to say, at the rate of one-sixtieth of his salary for every year of service actually completed, but there shall be added to the actual years of service any additional years he might independently of this schedule reckon under section four of the Superannuation Act, 1859, and also the following years (in this schedule referred to as abolition years), namely :—

if he has completed less than ten actual years of service, three years ;

if he has completed ten and less than fifteen actual years of service, five years ;

if he has completed fifteen and less than twenty actual years of service, seven years ;

if he has completed more than twenty actual years of service, ten years ;

but no pension shall exceed two-thirds of his salary ; and no abolition years shall be reckoned in excess of the difference between the age of the officer at the time of his retirement and the age at which he will be required under the existing rules as to age to retire ; and

- (B) If the officer was serving in a capacity which qualifies him on retirement for a gratuity under section four of the Superannuation Act, 1887, the same gratuity may be awarded as might have been awarded if he had retired on the abolition of his office ; and

- (C) If the foregoing provisions do not apply to any officer, the gratuity or pension awarded may be such as to the Lord Lieutenant appears just having regard to all the circumstances of the case, but less than the amount which might have been awarded to such officer if he had been in the permanent civil service.

(2) The payment which may be awarded to an existing officer to whom this Act applies and who does not devote his whole time to the duties of his office shall be such gratuity or pension as may be awarded to him by way of compensation for loss of office as appears to the Lord Lieutenant to be just having regard to all the circumstances of the case, and especially to the amount of his remuneration out of moneys provided by Parliament or out of the Irish Fund.

Provided that the compensation shall in no case exceed three-fourths of the amount which might have been granted, if section seven of the Superannuation Act, 1859, had applied to him, and if the total remuneration of his office had not exceeded the amount received by him out of moneys provided by Parliament or out of the Irish Fund.

(3) The Pensions Commutation Act, 1871, shall apply to any officer who is awarded a pension under the foregoing provisions of this schedule, in like manner as if he had retired on the abolition of his office, and any terminable annuity payable in respect of the commutation of a pension shall be payable out of the same funds as the pension.

IRISH DIARY.

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May 2.—"Times."—Letter from Mr. Ginnell, M.P., replying to Mr. Malcolm's letter on Intimidation. (See page 99.)

May 7.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Mr. Birrell introduces the Irish Council Bill. Speeches by Mr. Balfour and Mr. Redmond.

May 11.—Mr. Walter Long, M.P., speaks at Preston against the Irish Council Bill.

Lord Crewe, at Cambridge, refers in his speech to the Irish Council Bill.

May 13.—"Freeman's Journal."—Letters on the Irish Council Bill from the Bishop of Limerick, the Bishop of Kildare, and Mr. John Sweetman.

May 16.—Sir Horace Plunkett's farewell speech at the meeting of the Council of Agriculture, in connection with the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction.

May 17.—A special meeting of the Dublin Corporation held, condemning Irish Council Bill, and refusing to appoint delegates to the Convention.

"Times."—Letter from Mr. S. H. Butcher, M.P., with reference to the Irish Council Bill and Sir Horace Plunkett's position.

"Freeman's Journal."—Letter from the Bishop of Limerick on the Irish Council Bill.

May 18.—"Times."—Letter from Mr. Ian Malcolm on the constitution of the Nationalist Convention. Letter from Mr. J. G. Butcher on the Irish Council Bill. Letter on Home Rule and Australian Public Opinion.

May 21.—Nationalist Convention in Dublin; Mr. John Redmond moves the resolution rejecting the Irish Council Bill.

May 22.—Annual Meeting of the United Irish League of Great Britain held in Dublin. Speech by Mr. T. P. O'Connor.

May 24.—Public meeting in Belfast condemning Irish Council Bill. Speeches by Lord Londonderry, Mr. Walter Long, and Sir Edward Carson.

Unionist demonstration of South County Dublin Unionist Association. Speech by Mr. Walter Long.

May 25.—Mr. Walter Long at Unionist demonstration at Portadown against Irish Council Bill.

May 27th.—"Times."—Letter from Mr. Atherley Jones, M.P., on Home Rule and the Government.

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[JULY, 1907.

CURRENT NOTES.

In Memoriam.

The Irish Council Bill is now officially dead and buried, by order of the Prime Minister, who caused the measure to be introduced. Nobody mourns it, for it was despised and rejected by all parties from the moment of its birth. Nothing remains of it now but its shroud, the Parliamentary Paper on which it was printed. Still, we advise our readers to keep that memento by them, to remind them of the lengths to which this Radical Government was prepared to go, in order to bribe the Separatist party in Ireland into good behaviour. The enemies of England have always been the friends of the present Government, but never before has the taxpayer been asked to contribute an extra sum of **£650,000** a year to keep his enemies quiet.

The Irish Roman Catholic University Bill is also defunct, killed by its father's hand. Mr. Redmond is very angry, because he knows that the political Bishops and priests in Ireland will visit this disaster upon his head. But the Nonconformists of England are naturally jubilant, and Trinity College may well be the most exultant of all. Every University in Great Britain has petitioned against Mr. Bryce's preposterous scheme, and similar protests are now on their way from Canada and Australia. Even the present Government cannot afford to fly in the face of the united opinion of culture throughout the Empire.

The Funeral Oration.

The official funeral oration over the Irish Council Bill was delivered by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Prime Minister, in the House of Commons on June 3, 1907. He said:—

“The Irish Council Bill, although intentionally and designedly a measure limited in its scope, was, after all, a great measure, because it was so framed as to place under the direct control of the Council, of which by far the largest part was elected, and elected on the most extended franchise, all the chief Irish Administrative Departments—the Local Government Board, including administration of the Poor Law; education, primary, intermediate, and technical; the Depart-

ment of Agriculture, reformatory and industrial schools ; and the Board of Works, with all that appertains to it. That Bill also contains financial provisions that would have enabled this Council, had it been erected, to make great additions to the efficiency of the public services in Ireland. We believe that this measure was one which the Irish people would have done well to give greater attention to, in its details, than appears to have been bestowed upon it at the recent Convention. There appears to have been some misapprehension as to certain details, but those details, so far as they embodied any real fact or truth at all, could have been modified in Committee. Some of them seem to me to have been entirely misunderstood ; but the leader of the Irish party in this House having authoritatively announced that he would abide by the decision of that Convention, and the Convention having unanimously rejected it, we feel that we have no choice but to conclude that the entire influence of the Irish members, speaking for the Irish people, would be thrown against the measure ; and in those circumstances, which are a source of sincere regret and disappointment to us, we, of course, cannot go further with it. It is also clear to the Government with regard to another great question that of University education in Ireland—that no practical results can be expected to follow from the introduction, during the present Session, of a Bill of that magnitude. During the Autumn recess my hon. friend the Chief Secretary, purposes, in Ireland, to devote time and personal attention to this question, and my right hon. friend, whom we all know to be of a cheerful and even sanguine disposition, believes that it is possible and even likely that there may be established or discovered a harmony among the jarring interests and opinions on the subject in Ireland—a task I admit which has hitherto defied the best efforts of the pacificator. We do, however, intend to produce in this Session, and at an early date to press forward with all the means at our command, a Bill for the restoration of evicted tenants, and to obtain such compulsory powers of purchase as may be necessary to give immediate effect to a long-standing Parliamentary pledge. The object, I believe, will not be without support above the gangway on the other side.”—*Parl. Deb.*, Vol. 175, cols. 323–4.

Mr. Redmond's Views.

Speaking after Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Redmond referred to the Irish Council Bill in the following terms :—

“There never was a more complete misunderstanding of the case than the idea which has been spread abroad in this country that the result was influenced by clerical interference. It was not. It was, if I may so describe it, a perfectly genuine and spontaneous outburst of Irish lay opinion on this question. I, who had been considering this matter, and considering details, to see whether it was possible that something in this direction could be done, was not shocked by the Bill in the same way as men to whom it came for the first time. When these people, who, while they were not expecting full Home Rule, did expect something short of Home Rule and which should yet mean a complete trust in the people, saw

this Bill put before them, there was a spontaneous outburst of public opinion, not influenced by me, not influenced by my colleagues in this House, or by my colleagues in Ireland, or by public men of any sort—an absolutely spontaneous outburst, in the face of which it was absolutely impossible to believe the Bill would meet with any other fate than that which overtook it. The rejection of the Bill raises very serious considerations. The Irish people care comparatively little about your ameliorative legislation compared with the question of self-government and the rejection of this Bill raises the serious question in what direction they will marshal their forces so as to put this question again in the forefront of Imperial politics.”

—Parl. Deb., Vol. 175, col. 338.

Nationalist Press Views.

Mr. Redmond has lost much of his power over the Nationalists by the abject failure of the Irish Council Bill. The dissatisfaction was indeed very apparent in the local Nationalist Press (a few examples are given below), and it is only by preaching “a forward policy” that he can hope to regain the confidence in his leadership which has been so rudely shaken.

In the “Wexford People,” June 5, we read:—

“It is pretty evident that whether he is the possessor of some soothing secrets appertaining to the Cabinet itself, and specially communicated to Mr. Redmond in his ‘anxious moment,’ his avoidance of all attempt to condemn or to complain, or even to criticise this whole business and bungling, will attract a good deal of attention, and produce not a little irritation in the country. . . These mockeries are really intolerable. The Irish people will not in future be so hesitant about criticising the Irish Parliamentary party as they have been in the past. It is undeniable that with a little foresight, and less—we had almost said toadying—to Whig Ministers, the present predicament, in which humiliation is mingled with despair, could not have arisen. . .”

The “Midland Reporter” (June 6), says:—

“The alliance with the Liberals, who have so grossly betrayed the country, must be instantly knocked on the head. . . Birrell must be fought without kid gloves. . . If Ireland is to get nothing from this rotten Liberal crew, then Britain must be similarly served, and every British Bill must be blocked and obstructed.”

The “Kilkenny People” (June 8):—

“The country is not in a position to derive much enlightenment from the statement of Mr. John Redmond. . . He confessed that he never disguised from himself that the policy of half-measures was an impossible one. Well, all we can say is that if he did not disguise it from himself he succeeded in disguising it very well from the country. . . What we want in Ireland, as we pointed out last week, is a policy—a policy that will be at once national and rational.”

The “Irish Peasant” (June 8):—

“Many who have largely pinned their faith to a Parliamentary policy are emphatic against the idea of the party remaining in the old way at Westminster, attached to the Liberals, waiting for slow

coming crumbs of legislation, and neglecting the realities of nation-building at home. . . . An influential element in the United Irish League is pointedly calling on Mr. Redmond to come and take counsel with the country."

The Nationalist Manifesto.

The fiasco of the Irish Council, as we have already pointed out, seriously shook not only Mr. Redmond's leadership, but the entire foundations of the Irish Parliamentary party. The Parliamentary party can only hope to regain the confidence of the Irish Nationalists by the initiation of a vigorous policy. The first step in that new departure was the issue of a long statement signed by Mr. John Redmond on behalf of the party, and published immediately after a meeting of the party on June 11. With the paragraphs of the manifesto relating to the events leading up to the Irish Council, the Radical party may be left to deal. Unionists will be more interested in the following declarations:—

"The spirit displayed by the Convention not only presents no ground for discouragement, but, on the contrary, may be regarded as unmistakably a fresh and vigorous call to arms of the Irish people with the object of forcing the Irish question to the forefront of the politics of the hour.

"[Home Rule] can be won only by hard fighting, by a vigorous and well-sustained agitation in Ireland, by an active, pledge-bound, and disciplined party in the House of Commons, by the thorough organisation of the Irish vote in Great Britain, and its use absolutely independent of English party interests to push forward the cause of Home Rule, and by taking every opportunity and every means that offer in Ireland, and particularly in Great Britain, to force upon public attention the grievances which Ireland has suffered, and the ruinous effects of British rule in that country."

What "Sinn Fein" thinks.

The "Sinn Fein" party bears Mr. Redmond no love. And the policy enunciated by the Irish Parliamentary party in the above declaration moves it to derision. "Sinn Fein" the organ of the "Sinn Fein" party, comments as follows:—

"We suspect it is flapdoodle. And in return for this flapdoodle, what are the Irish people to do? They are to "carry on a vigorous and well-sustained agitation in Ireland" whilst the Irish party repose in Westminster, and "particularly in Great Britain" hold forth on "Irish grievances." There are no Coercion Acts and Royal Irish Constabulary in Great Britain. The Irish Parliamentary party will, therefore, "hurl defiance" at the British Government in Great Britain, whilst the Irish people "carry on a vigorous agitation at home" and pay the expenses of the party abroad. The plan is simplicity itself—but the Irish Parliamentary party has really too poor an opinion of its countrymen if it thinks it likely to be mistaken for a policy."—June 15, 1907.

Irish Disloyalists may be allowed to settle their own quarrels. Meanwhile Unionists will be prepared to meet the danger from whatever quarter it threatens.

The National Directory.

Following the publication of the Nationalist manifesto, the National Directory—a secret conclave of Nationalist wire-pullers—held a meeting in Dublin on June 20, under the presidency of Mr. John Redmond. The proceedings were private, but an official account records the passing of the following resolutions among others:—

National Policy.—We now call upon the Irish people to inaugurate without further delay a great and really virile movement to win that full national self-government which must be secured before the foundations of Ireland's prosperity in the future can be laid. We repeat our country's demand for an elected Legislature, controlling Irish domestic affairs, and an Executive responsible to that Legislature; and we urge a speedy and united expression of national determination to secure these rights, and not rest content with less.

Home Rule.—... We recommend that at every meeting the League's position should be made perfectly clear, and the fact that nothing short of national autonomy will satisfy our people, and lead to lasting peace and contentment, impressed on the minds of the English statesmen, who must devote themselves again to the task of finding an acceptable settlement.

Irish Party and National Organisation.—... Under the altered situation with which the country is now confronted, we call upon all the members of the party to energetically devote themselves in close co-operation with the Standing Committee to the promotion of a really vigorous and sustained agitation throughout all Ireland during the coming autumn and winter, to the imperative work of making the National Organisation a strong, disciplined, and ever ready force for effective political and social effort in their several constituencies.

Industrial Revival Movement.—That we call on the Irish people to give a preference to Irish-manufactured goods where at all possible; and we direct the Branches of the United Irish League all over Ireland to make the support of home industries a leading plank of the National platform; to pass resolutions in favour of the industrial revival movement at frequent intervals; to use their influence as an organisation and individually in this direction; and to give practical encouragement by word and deed to Irish enterprise in every shape and form.

The Jarrow Fight.

The first outward and visible sign of the determination of the Irish Nationalist party to use the Irish vote in Great Britain “absolutely independent of English party interests to push forward the cause of Home Rule” was the running of a Nationalist candidate at Jarrow Mr. T. P. O'Connor, at the meeting which was held to select Mr. Alderman O'Hanlon as Nationalist candidate, said:—

“They were determined to let the Government know that there was an Irish race in England as well as in America, and that that race was determined to assert its rights in Ireland and its rights in England as well. . . They had smoothed the way of Liberal

candidates for years, but they were now going to adopt in the true sense of the term the policy of self-reliance."

The Radical and Labour parties had candidates. Both were staunch Home Rulers, and both were extremely anxious to secure the Nationalist vote. Hence both these parties were extremely angry at the Nationalist action. The Labour party threatened retaliation at Liverpool on Mr. T. P. O'Connor's seat, and at Belfast on Mr. Devlin's seat.

Mr. Redmond's two Voices.

Mr. Redmond's two voices have long been a remarkable feature of Irish politics. Two illustrations of this peculiar power are given below —

Mr. Redmond, at the Oxford Union, June 6 :—

"This Bill of Mr. Birrell's, which touched only a small portion of the administration of Ireland and did not touch legislation at all; over every portion of that Bill was written in large characters distrust of the people. Why, when the Tory Government gave the Local Government Act of 1898, they trusted the people."—"Freeman's Journal," June 7.

—
"On the question of intolerance, nothing is so hateful to me and my colleagues as this horrible suggestion of intolerance against the Irish people."—"Freeman's Journal," June 7.

Mr. Redmond, in the House of Commons, May 7, on introduction of Irish Council Bill :—

"I would prefer you should give no legislative power at all by this scheme than give dwarfed, maimed, and limited powers. . . The creation of such a body as this is a continuation and development of the policy of the Tory party in 1898, and simply gives control to the Irish people over the most important of those irresponsible boards."—*Parl. Deb.*, Vol. 174, col. 115.

—
Mr. Redmond, at Coalisland, on October 14, 1906, referring to the Loyal Protestant Unionists, said :—

"They must be overborne by the strong hand."—"Freeman's Journal," Oct. 15, 1906.

The Case in a Nutshell.

The following resolution passed by the Armagh Grand Orange Lodge puts in a nutshell the Unionist case against the Home Rule (first instalment) Bill :—

"That we, the Grand Orange Lodge of County Armagh, protest against the Irish Council Bill for the reasons following :—

"(1) Because the Bill would unsettle everything, and settle nothing.

"(2) Because men of independence and ability would not be willing to sit in the proposed Irish Council, which would consequently be composed of paid politicians and wire-pullers.

"(3) Because the Council would be a useless obstruction to business, and a direct cause of bad government.

"(4) Because the Council would use its patronage to appoint to office political partizans, instead of efficient public servants.

"(5) Because the Council would use the funds placed at its command to favour the less industrious parts of the country at the expense of Ulster.

“(6) Because the control of the Council over education would be dangerous to the religion of Protestant children.

“(7) Because the power given to the Government, without consulting Parliament, to hand over to the Council Irish Departments, and the powers of English Departments as far as they are exercised in Ireland, is unconstitutional, and likely to lead to corrupt bargains between the Government and the Nationalist M.P.’s.

“(8) Because the Bill enables a Roman Catholic to be the King’s Representative in Ireland, in defiance of the spirit of the Act of Settlement.

“(9) Because the Bill tends to make the King’s Representative more than ever the representative of a party.

“(10) Because the Bill seems to degrade the King’s Representative by requiring him to perform important functions in accordance with the resolutions of the local Council.

“(11) Because the creation of an Irish Council would increase the power of a disloyal faction hostile to Great Britain, and to the friends of Great Britain in Ireland, and

“(12) Because the proposed Irish Council could easily be converted hereafter into an Irish Legislature, with an Irish Executive responsible to it, and would in that case lead to civil war, or to the establishment of an independent Ireland hostile to Great Britain.”

A Nonconformist Opinion.

The “British Weekly” in the course of a most interesting article on Home Rule, says:—

“It is more clear than ever that Home Rule as the Nationalists conceive it means Rome Rule. We are quite certain that the Nonconformists in this country, properly enlightened, will never hand Ireland over to Rome Rule. Even if they were to betray their trust, the Protestants in Ireland would fight to the death against a tyranny so monstrous that the most enslaved creatures under its rule have made their protest. . . Home Rule will not come without the bloodiest of battle, without the last extremity of resistance.”—May 30.

The only barrier against Home Rule is the Unionist party. Will Nonconformists put aside small questions, and fight shoulder to shoulder with the Unionists against “Rome Rule,” and the eternal servitude of their co-religionists in Ireland?

Mr. Birrell’s Admissions.

Mr. Birrell, replying to a question by Mr. Lonsdale (May 29), controverted Judge Ross’s statement that there was a widespread conspiracy rampant in the West of Ireland, saying that the Government had no evidence showing that such a state of affairs existed.

Whether Mr. Birrell entitles the present agitation in the West a conspiracy or not is immaterial; but there is ample information that it is both widespread and rampant.

The following admissions by the Government, in reply to questions in the House of Commons, are sufficiently weighty to show this:—

1. On May 1, 245 grazing farms were under police protection.—(Mr. Birrell, May 7.)

2. Eighty-one policemen are occupied in affording protection to occupiers of grazing farms in Counties of Galway, Mayo, and Roscommon.—(Mr. Birrell, May 15.)

3. Some 400 police are engaged in securing the stock on the farms from molestation.—(Mr. Birrell, May 15.)

4. During the month ended May 25, approximately 20 cases of driving cattle off farms occurred.—(Mr. Birrell, May 29.)

5. During the month ended May 25, six police officers and 280 men were drafted into Connaught. In two cases police are encamped on farms.—(Mr. Birrell, May 29.)

6. Additional police are drafted into the following counties:—Clare (one head constable and 65 reserve men); Cork (seven reserve men); Leitrim and Cavan (22 reserve men); Galway (35 reserve men); Roscommon (one district inspector, two head constables and 133 men); King's County (one district inspector and 25 reserve men). Mr. Birrell added that "in all these cases the augmentation of the local police force was necessitated by the disturbed state of the district."—(Mr. Birrell, May 30.)

7. A number of grazing farms in County Roscommon are at present unoccupied, and that there is reason to believe that in some of these cases this result is due to unlawful interference by crowds of people, who have driven cattle off the lands.—(Mr. Cherry, June 4.)

8. Killemadeema, near Loughrea, is one of the districts of the West of Ireland the condition of which is not satisfactory.—(Mr. Birrell, June 5.)

9. The district of Athenry is not in a satisfactory condition.—(Mr. Birrell, June 5.)

10. During the last twelve months an average of 200 persons have been under special police protection in Ireland.—(Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, June 8.)

11. The reserve force of constabulary at the Depot had been depleted by 177 men, who had been drafted into various disturbed districts.—(Mr. Birrell, June 4.)

12. In certain limited areas there is considerable cause for anxiety.—(Mr. Birrell, May 29.)

13. "It is necessary to exercise very great watchfulness."—(Lord Crewe, June 5.)

14. Sixty-one persons have been returned for trial at the forthcoming Assizes on the Connaught circuit for offences arising out of agrarian disturbances.—(Mr. Birrell, June 19.)

15. One hundred and fourteen persons are at present confined in Irish prisons in default of finding securities for their good behaviour.—(Mr. Birrell, June 19.)

Lord Denman's Amazing Admission.

Lord Denman, who was the first to reply for the Government on Lord Londonderry's motion with reference to the lawlessness in various districts of Ireland, referred to the prevalent practice of cattle driving in terms which shed a flood of light on the Ministerial attitude towards this form of intimidation. "In the opinion of the Government," said Lord Denman, "the driving off of the cattle could not be considered a

crime of a very serious nature." This amazing admission Lord Crewe on the following day endeavoured to tone down, but the indiscreet utterance had already begun to do its work. In jubilant tones the "Freeman's Journal" (June 5) announced that Lord Denman, speaking for the Government, "admitted that the claims of the people are just, and justified by Parliamentary pledges." And on the following day, at the hearing of the Foheragh cattle-driving case, at Ballintubber (Co. Roscommon), the solicitor for the Defendants urged it as one of the reasons for dismissing the case that "they had it on the authority of Lord Denman, in the House of Lords the other night, that the people of Ireland had reason for what they were doing."

"The Ordinary Steps."

Following closely upon Lord Denman's remarkable declaration in the House of Lords on June 4 that "in the opinion of the Government the driving off of cattle could not be considered a crime of a very serious nature," we have had a still more remarkable statement by Mr. Birrell. Replying to questions in the House of Commons on June 12, he complained that "hitherto, however, owners of farms had done practically nothing to protect the farms. Police protection is but an adjunct to the primary duty of an owner to provide for the safety of his own property." Pressed as to the meaning of this, he said: "It is the duty of people in Ireland, as elsewhere, to take some steps to protect their property." Needless to say, this was received with Nationalist cheers, but Mr. Birrell declined to define what the protective steps are which the Government think the owners ought to take.

Roscommon County Council and Law and Order.

The Roscommon County Council have adopted a resolution protesting against Mr. Birrell's attempts to secure something like order in the county, and calling on Mr. Redmond "to press the Government immediately for a sworn investigation of the matter, as in no country in the world would such conduct be tolerated, and if such a repetition of such is allowed to occur, it can only lead up to bloodshed and murder."

Mr. Birrell's Irish Council would, in the same way, soon have been protesting against the action of the Government.

The Roscommon County Council have taken a leaf out of the Non-conformist book, and adopted a policy of "passive resistance," by refusing to pay the cost of the extra police.

"Impartial" J.P.s.

The impartiality of the magistrates before whom Mr. Birrell brings those concerned in the outrages in the West of Ireland may be gathered from the fact that at a recent trial at Hillstreet (Co. Roscommon) one of the Justices publicly declared that he would be prepared to take his place in the cells besides the prisoners rather than coincide in the decision to punish them.

Trials in such cases are pure farces; no matter how clear may be the guilt of the prisoners, convictions are only secured when by a fortuitous circumstance the Nationalist magistrates are in the minority.

J.P.s in Roscommon.

Mr. J. J. Doyle is at present in Sligo Prison in default of finding sureties for good behaviour in connection with cattle driving and unlawful assembly. As a reward for his services in this matter his Nationalist colleagues have elected him Chairman of the Carrick-on-Shannon No. 2 District Council.

As Chairman of this Council, he becomes, *ex officio*, a Justice of the Peace, and will be called upon to adjudicate in cases similar to that for which he was imprisoned!

Such is the Nationalist reward for participation in illegal acts. Very different is the treatment meted out to those who refuse to obey the League.

Mr. O'Beirne was the Chairman of the Carrick-on-Shannon No. 1 Rural District Council. As a magistrate he failed to attend the petty sessions to carry out the directions of the United Irish League to dismiss cases brought against persons for unlawful assembly in connection with the cattle raids. The punishment for this neglect was swift. The League immediately called upon him to resign his chairmanship. Mr. O'Beirne did so, rather than face the matter out.

Suffering for Duty.

It does not pay in Ireland to be a magistrate and do one's duty against Nationalist opinion. Mr. Persse holds the farm of Rathseddy, near Athenry; he is also a Justice of the Peace, and in that capacity was one of the Athenry Bench who returned certain defendants for trial upon a charge of unlawful assembly and intimidation.

Three times has his stock been driven off his farm—twice his sheep, and on the third occasion his cattle. For some unknown reason we learn from Mr. Birrell the police thought that the Nationalists were going to confine their attentions to the former animals; consequently the crowd were successful in their third raid. The locality is now constantly patrolled by the police.

Such is the life in Ireland of one who dares to respect justice and enforce the law.

Ballintubber Outrage.

Mr. Payne has a farm near Ballintubber, and because he refuses to surrender it at the dictation of the United Irish League, he is being subjected to the usual intimidation inflicted on all who decline to obey its demands. On May 10 there was a cattle drive on Mr. Payne's farm, and the mob scattered his stock. Replying to a question by Lord John Joicey-Cecil (June 3rd), Mr. Birrell said that he was informed that about 75 labourers temporarily employed by the Congested Districts Board and about 30 employed by the Estates Commissioners were members of the crowd who committed the outrage.

This fact, he added, had already been brought to the notice of the departments mentioned. It was to have been expected that the departments would make an example of these men, that the people may clearly understand that the Government does not sympathise with these outrages, and that Government servants, however humble may be their position, are not to participate in lawless and disorderly deeds.

But we learn (Mr. Birrell, June 12) they have been let off with a caution, with the excuse that Mr. Birrell has no information that they were actually engaged in driving off the cattle.

The Roscrea Farce.

Four times have sixteen men been brought before the bench of magistrates at Roscrea on the charge of unlawful assembly and driving of cattle, sheep and horses off Mr. Luttrell's farm at Roscomroe. On three occasions the bench were equally divided. The announcement of the result for the third time was received with laughter. On the fourth occasion the Nationalist magistrates were in a majority and the cases were dismissed. The law is turned into a screaming farce, and the authority of those engaged in administering it is openly flouted.

An Amazing Statement.

The attention of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland has been called to the conduct of Mr. Kelly, a Justice of the Peace with pronounced Nationalist leanings, at the Athenry Petty Sessions. Mr. Kelly, it will be remembered, besides acting from the Bench in the capacity of Counsel for the prisoners, bullied and cross-examined witnesses for the Crown in a manner that showed extreme partiality.

Mr. Kelly further declared on the Bench :—

“ We have it out of the mouth of the Chief Secretary that they should agitate, and are you going to condemn these men for what they were told to do by the Chief Secretary ? ”

Questioned in the House, Mr. Birrell said that “ the Lord Chancellor did not consider that the report disclosed any action on Mr. Kelly's part which called for his interference ” !

A more amazing statement was never made. Had Mr. Kelly been a Unionist J.P., and had he shown his partiality towards the prisoners in England in this way, every Radical conscience would have been outraged. In a mob they would have risen up and demanded his instant dismissal.

But, as he and the prisoners happen to be Nationalist allies of the Radical party, and as the victims of their outrages and cruelties cannot put fear into the Radical mind, Mr. Kelly's actions go uncensured. Justice is made a farce, a travesty of right, and the might of the United Irish League reigns supreme.

Little wonder, then, Mr. Birrell lost his temper when his attention was called to Mr. Kelly's remarks respecting himself and he was asked to dissociate himself from them.

With characteristic slimness he evaded such an undertaking, an action which will not be lost on the Nationalists, and will go far to confirm them in the opinion they already hold as to the Chief Secretary's sympathy with their deeds.

Mr. Kelly goes too far.

But Mr. Kelly went too far. The Government have at last been forced to take action, and institute criminal proceedings against him with reference to a speech at New Inn, County Galway, on June 2, when he incited his hearers to treat Lord Ashtown in the same way as John Blake, who was shot dead in 1883, was treated.

Incitement to Outrage.

The campaign of incitement to outrage which the Nationalist leaders hinted at the Convention has been taken up in earnest.

The "Freeman's Journal," the recognised organ of the United Irish League and the Parliamentary party, has joined in the cry. In its issue of May 29, referring to the disorder and lawlessness that is now rampant in the West, it says:—

"No wonder that the patience of the people is at last giving way, and that the agitation against the grazing system has broken out with fresh intensity. . . For nearly five years now they have practically desisted from agitation, and if agitation has had to be resumed the fault is not theirs. The events at Roscrea, Elphin, and Hillstreet prove that they will not tamely submit any longer to the impoverishing system of which they and their fathers have been the victims. . . The system that reserves the fertile land for the bullock and the bog-land and the mountain-side for the people is doomed even in Connaught. The system is going to end this summer, that is plain. But the end is coming from the people themselves, and not from the men whom a strange destiny has made rulers of Ireland."

The organisers of the United Irish League are going about urging the people to further outrage.

For example, Mr. Dermot O'Brien, one of the League officials, speaking at a meeting of the North Mayo Convention, thus addressed his audience:—

"The people of Mayo would be unworthy of freedom if they stood idly by and saw cattle taking the place of men on the grazing farms of the country, without using one word of protest. They saw the fight that was going on in Roscommon and all over Ireland for the grazing lands, and the graziers of Mayo must be made to realise that they had more before them than they anticipated. . . The graziers and grabbers must go before 12 months' time."

Mr. O'Brien singled out one man for attack—Mr. John Garvey, the Crown Solicitor for Mayo. Mr. O'Brien's complaint was that Mr. Garvey "had 205 acres of grazing lands without a protest on the part of the people, and he was allowed to walk the country as safe as the Nationalist who would sacrifice his life for the cause. If this was allowed to continue, there would soon be no one left in Mayo but graziers and grabbers."

Mr. O'Brien's attack on this Crown official is not unlikely to have the usual result, unless Mr. Birrell is more inclined to protect his officer from outrage than he is the private individual.

"Blackguardly Conduct": A Judge's Opinion.

During the hearing, at Boyle Quarter Sessions, on June 4, of a claim by Mr. Samuel Russell for compensation for the malicious drowning of a heifer, Judge Wakely said that "because Mr. Russell proposed to take a farm he had been subjected to **blackguardly conduct**. There were some who were ruining County Roscommon by their conduct. Irishmen had always been renowned for their courage, but there was not much courage in 500 men boycotting one man."—"Irish Times," June 5.

That is an impartial Judge's opinion. Mr. Russell is to have an opportunity of telling the House of Commons what is his opinion of such conduct.

Judge Wakely's View.

With more courage than the Government, the Judicial Bench in Ireland do not hesitate to condemn the state of disorder and outrage rampant in the West. During the hearing of a claim for malicious injury at the Boyle Quarter Sessions, on June 11, Judge Wakely said :—

"It was no wonder the people were leaving this country, and they would continue to emigrate while this disgracefully illegal conduct was allowed to continue. This conduct was contrary to the law of God and the moral law, and this disgraceful and illegal conduct was fast ruining the country. He was sorry the people were making the County Roscommon a curse and a pest by their disgraceful conduct. He was sorry because he liked the people of Roscommon. He did not see how God could let a country prosper under the circumstances."—"Roscommon Messenger," June 15, 1907.

Afraid to serve Writs.

Remarkable illustrations of the condition of certain parts of Ireland were afforded by two applications to the Judges of the King's Bench Division.

On June 11 an application was made to Mr. Justice Johnson for leave to substitute service of writ by sending it through the post in respect of rent alleged to be due for a holding in Knocknosapple in Co. Cork.

The counsel for the applicants explained "that for the past twelve months the civil bill officers and others accustomed to serve writs in this neighbourhood had refused to serve any writs for rent on estates in this district owing to the fact that in some cases, in addition to the writs being forcibly taken from them, the civil bill officers had been subject to violence. The civil bill officers had absolutely refused to serve the writ, though he had offered to obtain police protection for them, on the ground of the fear of violence and personal injury."

On the following day there was a similar application before Mr. Justice Wright with respect to a holding at Doonberg, Co. Cork.

In this case a civil bill officer named Finn had made three attempts to serve the writ. On the third occasion he was surrounded by a large crowd, who threw stones and other missiles at him until he was forced to draw his revolver.

Both applications were granted, and the dangerous duty now falls on the postmen, who have repeatedly been set upon and robbed whilst discharging their task of delivering letters believed to contain writs.

Mr. Birrell has promised postmen engaged in such duties adequate protection. Now is the time for him to put his pledges into action.

Sligo County Council and Sedition.

At a recent meeting of the Sligo County Council, a speaker declared, amid applause, that they in Sligo wanted neither Home Rule nor Devolution, as the law of the National Organisation was supreme there, and that the branches of that organisation should visit with their curse everyone, landlord, policeman, or anyone else, who showed the least

opposition. Subsequently, a resolution was unanimously passed by the Council to the effect that nothing short of Home Rule would satisfy the people of Ireland.

Our readers will not be surprised to learn that Mr. Birrell, when asked whether it was intended to allow meetings of county councils to be used for the delivery of seditious speeches and incitements to outrages, replied that he did not propose to take any steps in regard to the speech.

The incident is illustrative of the way Nationalists drag politics into local councils, and shows clearly how the Irish Council of Mr. Birrell's Bill would soon become a political engine of the Nationalist party.

The Rule of the League.

A remarkable illustration of the domination of the United Irish League in local government matters comes from King's County. At a special meeting of the King's County Council, held on June 19, appointments were made of inspectors under the Sheep Dipping Orders. For the No. 4 District of Barony of Garrycastle South there were two applicants—Mr. Colclough and Mr. Horan.

Mr. Colclough held the appointment last year, and the Secretary of the County Council acknowledged that he had done his work most efficiently.

Mr. Horan's appointment was advocated on the ground that the local branch of the United Irish League had passed a resolution to the effect that all public appointments should be given to members of that organisation, that Mr. Horan was a life-long Nationalist and a member of the United Irish League, and that it was only right that men who had given their services to the National cause should get these appointments when they applied for them.

Mr. Colclough was also a Nationalist, but unfortunately was not a member of the United Irish League. And membership of the League being a higher qualification than knowledge of one's duties and proved efficiency, Mr. Horan was duly elected to the post!

Estates Commissioners and Intimidation.

Lord Londonderry and other Peers during the debates in the House of Lords on the condition of Ireland, referred to the rule of the Congested Districts Board and the Estates Commissioners, whereby the Commissioners, if they found that intimidation had been exercised in order to bring the estate in the market, might postpone the application until all others, in respect of which no intimidation existed, had been disposed of.

That rule is no longer acted upon under the present Government. Consequently a direct encouragement arises to force the owners to surrender the estate to the Commissioners. Such a situation, as Lord Denman admitted, has as its necessary result the intimidation, cattle driving, and terrorism which now exists.

Mr. Birrell, when questioned on the matter in the House of Commons, thought that the enforcement of the rule might injure the landlords who wanted to sell. This sudden regard for the landed interest is not very convincing, coming from the present Government.

Lord Crewe, in the House of Lords, indeed expressed the same opinion, but added:—"I think the proper remedy is not to stop the sale of the

estate, but to see that persons guilty of intimidation do not obtain any allotment on that estate; and that is the course which I am led to believe is likely to be pursued."

Nationalist "Carriion Crows."

Replying to Mr. Willie Redmond (June 3), Mr. Birrell stated that twelve persons are under police protection in the parish of Kilnaboy, in County Clare; that such protection is considered necessary by the police authorities who are responsible for taking measures to preserve the peace, and who have informed Mr. Birrell that the locality is not at present in a peaceable condition.

It is interesting to observe that the Nationalist members are now turning "carriion crows," and are assisting the Unionists in the good work of making public the true condition of Ireland under Radical rule.

The Irish Club.

The Irish Club is a well-known club in London, claiming to be non-political and non-sectarian. Recently Dr. O'Hea, who is a well-known medical man in South London, was approached on the subject of joining the club. After making some inquiries he wrote to the secretary that he would never become a member while the Club included traitors who cheered the Boer victories.

In answer to this declaration Dr. O'Hea received the following reply from the secretary:—

"Irish Club, 28, Charing Cross Road.

"May 15, 1907.

"DEAR SIR,—I have your postcard, and note what you say. I cannot, of course, blame you in any way, but I do blame your proposer, Mr. —, and he will have to answer to the Board for proposing a member **whose opinions he ought to have known would be objectionable to the members.** In the chequered history of Ireland—and, goodness knows, it has been a chequered one—there have been occasionally bright periods. Personally, I think **the most glorious** was the one in which many of Ireland's sons bravely took part in **the defence of the Boers against the tyrants and enemies of their own race,** and surely their action in cheering Boer victories was fully justified during the last few weeks, when the very people who are not famed for their national honour have been feting and feasting the brave General who, I am delighted to know, laid many thousands of the enemy low in one of the most ignominious struggles ever entered into by a nation. Our Club is an Irish one, and I am pleased to say up to the present we have admitted no shoneens, nor do we desire to have them as members.

"I regret if I have inconvenienced you in any way by writing or troubling you. I promise it will not occur again.—Yours truly,

"(Signed) "SAMUEL GEDDES

"(One of those who cheered)."

Mr. John Redmond and the rank and file of the Nationalist party are members of the Club. It is gratifying to note that the Chairman of the Club has resigned. Lord Dunraven has written for explanations. Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., a member of his Majesty's Government, is also a member of the Club.

Irish Harvest Money.

The migration of Irish labourers to England and Scotland for a portion of the year is one of the features of Irish life. The Irish Department of Agriculture has recently issued their report on this subject for 1906. It is estimated that approximately 25,000 agricultural labourers migrated from Ireland to Great Britain during the year.

After working for periods of from three to nine months on farms they returned home with savings which amounted to some £275,000. The wages they received varied considerably in different districts and at different seasons of the year, but the range was from the lowest limit of 15s. a week, with lodging and some food, to piece-work earnings, which at the busy season in several districts reach 30s., and in some cases even £2 a week.

An interesting point brought out is that many of these migrants are themselves small landowners in Ireland. Of the 15,286 who are known to have migrated to England or Scotland last year, 487 had holdings not exceeding five statute acres, while 2,875 owned land exceeding that area. Of the latter 326 owned land exceeding twenty acres, and twelve of over 100 acres. This is a very pertinent bit of evidence with regard to small holdings which is well worth noting.

It should be noted that were Ireland separated from Great Britain this migratory labour would certainly cease. Irish labourers would almost certainly be forbidden to work on English soil, and the result would be that both countries would be the worse off. Great Britain would lack the labour that had made the crops yield their produce, and Ireland would lack the savings put by during the harvest time to aid the labourers in the winter days that follow.

The Evicted Tenants Bill.

THE latest effort of His Majesty's Government is directed to reinstating in their old farms a number of Irishmen who, to the third and fourth generation, have been exiled therefrom for non-payment of rent and other undesirable qualities. It seems somewhat extraordinary that the civil law should step in to indemnify law-breakers and to evict those who have scrupulously paid their rent and have upheld the rule of the law against that of the League. Yet so it is ; for on June 27 Mr. Birrell introduced his "Evicted Tenants" Bill, which ought, more accurately, to have been named the "Evicted Rent-payers" Bill. For, since two men cannot own the same farm, and since it is the intention of the Government to oust the rent-payer in order to instal the non-rent-payer, it is obvious that the law-abiding farmer is to be made to suffer in order that the lawless tenant or his descendant may be appeased. This act of high-handed coercion is to be enforced by the self-styled apostles of "liberty" who now reign on the Treasury Bench at a cost of not less than £2,000,000, which is to come out of the pocket of the British taxpayer in one way or another. We are quite accustomed to having to pay the piper when Ireland calls the tune, but it does seem rather a strong order to ask the English, Scottish, and Welsh farmers to put their hands in their pockets to find money to pay the rent of the criminal, and perhaps to compensate the honest farmer for disturbance as well.

The Bill in question may be analysed as follows. It provides :—

- (1) That the tenants reinstated are to be reinstated as purchasers under the Act of 1903.
- (2) That the principle of compulsion is to be introduced.
- (3) The amount of land required is estimated at 80,000 acres.
- (4) The Estates Commissioners will work the machinery of the Bill.
- (5) The number of *bona fide* evicted tenants still to be returned to their holdings is estimated at 2,000.
- (6) Evicted tenants are described as persons who, or whose predecessors, were evicted from their holdings before the passing of the Act of 1903, and who have made application for their reinstatement before May 1, 1907, and whom the Commissioners consider to be fit and proper persons to be purchasers under the Act of 1903.
- (7) New tenants are to be evicted from their holdings when the Estates Commissioners consider it expedient to replace the evicted tenants on the original holding.
- (8) Compensation is to be paid to the tenant so turned out ; or he is to be planted on another holding elsewhere.
- (9) The Estates Commissioners are to publish in the " Dublin Gazette " a return of the land they require, and to give notice to those interested ; they then take steps to find out whether the land is suitable, and to form an estimate of the price to be paid.
- (10) All expenses in the matter of equipment and compensation are to be paid out of the Reserve Fund of the Act of 1881 (amounting, in cash, to about £175,000), and afterwards out of the Land Commission Fund.
- (11) The Commissioners may, where it is thought necessary, with the permission of the Lord-Lieutenant, incur a loss on the re-sale of the land ; such loss is to be met out of the bonus fund now payable to the landlords who sell their estates.
- (12) The Estates Commissioners to have the tenure of a County Court Judge, but some portion of their salary to remain on the Parliamentary vote in order to allow their conduct to be called upon in review by the House of Commons.

It will be observed that no difference is made between *bona fide* evicted tenants who were evicted from their lands in the stormy eighties and those who have chosen for political reasons to withhold their fair rents during the past twenty years ; the former class amounted to some 800 at the very most, the latter have been estimated at 8,000. Yet for some reason, which is not specified, only 2,000 of these latter (added to some 1,600 who have already been restored to their old holdings) are to come under the benefit of this new Act. We shall be surprised if the remaining 4,000 who are left out in the cold do not raise their voices against such treatment. After all, they were evicted from their farms, not because they could not pay, but because the Irish Parliamentary party ordered them not to pay and promised to support them " so long as they would keep out." A great moral responsibility rests, therefore, upon Mr. Redmond and Mr. O'Brien, who invented and instigated the Plan of Campaign ; what restitution are they, with Mr. Dillon and others, going to make to those whom they induced to wander into misery—men whom the civil law now refuses to reinstate and whom the enormous sums of money received from Australia and America ought to support.

THE UNIONIST PROTEST.

QUEEN'S HALL, JUNE 13, 1907.

REPORT OF THE SPEECHES.

A great and determined meeting to protest against the Irish policy of the Government was held at the Queen's Hall on June 13, under the auspices of the Union Defence League.

Mr. Balfour was supported by many Peers, Privy Councillors, and Members of Parliament, and, in addition, by deputations representing the Ulster Unionist Council and the Irish Unionist Alliance.

The Ulster Unionist Council was represented by:—

The Marquis of Londonderry, K.G.
The Marquis of Hamilton, M.P.
The Earl of Ranfurly, G.C.M.G.
The Earl of Dartrey.
Earl Kilmorey.
Captain Craig, M.P.
Geo. S. Clark, Esq., M.P.
Hon. R. T. O'Neill, M.P.
G. W. Wolff, Esq., M.P.
Harry Liddell, Esq., M.P.
Hugh S. Barrie, Esq., M.P.
W. J. McGeagh McCaw, Esq.
Hon. Hugh O'Neill.
Hon. E. C. Macnaghten, K.C.
W. J. Allen, Esq., J.P.
R. H. S. Reade, Esq., D.L.
Col. R. G. Sharman-Crawford, D.L.
Col. R. H. P. Doran.
C. C. Craig, Esq., M.P.
Wm. Moore, Esq., K.C., M.P.
Col. McCalmont, M.P.
G. Featherstonhaugh, Esq., K.C., M.P.
John Gordon, Esq., K.C., M.P.
T. L. Corbett, Esq., M.P.
J. B. Lonsdale, Esq., M.P.
Sir Hugh H. Smiley, Bart.
Sir James Henderson, D.L.
J. R. Fisher, Esq., B.L.

Hugh Adair, Esq., J.P.
C. W. Dunbar-Buller, Esq., D.L.
Col. Clark, D.L.
Sir Fredk. Heygate, Bart.
Charles Stronge, Esq., D.L.
Chas. F. Falls, Esq., M.A.
Joseph Fowler, Esq.
W. W. Barnhill, Esq., B.L.
W. Wilson, Esq., D.L.
Anketell Moutray, Esq., D.L.
Rev. R. T. Simpson, M.A.
W. H. Darragh, Esq., J.P.
William Colhoun, Esq.
Geo. Preston, Esq., D.L.
David Thompson, Esq.
Col. Waters, C.B.
Major J. N. Blackwood-Price, D.L.
Andrew Brown, Esq., J.P.
Hunter Moore, Esq.
R. H. Crichton, Esq.
Jas. Johnston, Esq., J.P.
S. M. Macrory, Esq., J.P.
W. H. Webb, Esq., J.P.
W. J. Lester, Esq.
Maurice C. Hime, Esq., LL.D.
John McHarland, Esq., J.P.
Wilfred Haughton, Esq.

The Irish Unionist Alliance was represented on the platform by:—

J. H. Campbell, Esq., M.P.
Sir Douglas Brooke.
R. E. Longfield, Esq.
R. C. Evans, Esq.
R. G. Carden, Esq.
Captain Lewis Riall.

Sir Roland Blennerhassett.
Col. Lindsay.
Rev. D. Evans.
T. C. E. Goff, Esq.
Gerald S. Guinness, Esq.
D. G. Willis, Esq.

And, in addition, there were many other representatives in the body of the hall.

MR. BALFOUR.

Mr. Balfour, who, on rising to open the proceedings, was received with the utmost enthusiasm, said—My lords and gentlemen, this meeting, as you all know, was called when it was still in doubt as to whether the immediate duty of the Unionist party was not to organise their forces and to exert their strength to defeat the Devolution Bill brought in by the Government. That object has been accomplished without our aid. The walls of Jericho have fallen without the necessity for elaborate stage preparations on the part either of ourselves or of any others of the Opposition whom the authors of the measure contrived to bring into the field against them. We have not, therefore, met here to-day to triumph over the dead. We are not bound to speak well of it, but if the parents of the late Bill—its authors and its destroyers—if they have given it a sepulture more or less recent it is not our business now to desecrate the grave, to disinter the victim of this parricidal fury, and to expose it again to public scorn. We may write its epitaph—we need not discuss its merits—“Here lies Devolution, unwept, unhonoured, and unsung,” except, perhaps, by the Prime Minister. It is surely a piece of almost tragic ill-fortune that it should be given to a single Minister in the course of fourteen months to bring in two Bills in two difficult, different departments of public administration, which have undergone so unhappy and ignominious a fate as the late Education Bill and the late Devolution Bill. The truth is that the distinguished statesman who gave his name to both is but their stepfather. In neither one case nor the other does he claim, I believe, or would he be anxious to claim, the true paternity of the measure, and anybody who listened—as it was my fortune to listen—to his exposition of the merits of the late deceased measure will certainly come to the conclusion I arrived at very early in the proceedings, that he was neither the author of the Bill, nor did he have any very great regard for its provisions. He has not been long Chief Secretary for Ireland, but in the course of the few months in which he has been responsible for the government of the country he has performed a feat which so far as I know—and, alas, my experience of Irish affairs goes back into very many years—has never been performed by any of his predecessors in office.

Ireland United in Condemning the Bill.

He has brought forward a measure upon which every Irishman of every opinion is absolutely agreed. I never thought to live to see the time when the most hardened Loyalist from Ulster, the most devoted follower of Mr. Redmond, the most enthusiastic of the young men of Ireland, who, I understand, are masters of an organisation which looks with little love either on Mr. Redmond and his friends or upon the Ulster Unionists—I never thought to live to see the time when all these sections of opinion would fall on each other's necks in what, I admit, is the negative policy of objugating the Government proposals. I do not think, so far as my recollection serves me, that the oratory in the North of Ireland is weak in expressions of disgust, dismay, and reprobation; but the epithets which they have levelled against the defunct measure sink into insignificance when you compare them with the richness of description, the wealth of epithet, the furious denunciation which those who support a Government pledged to govern Ireland according to Irish ideas have levelled against the Government in its first serious attempt to carry out

that policy. If we had assembled in this hall from all parts of the United Kingdom merely to look back on the past, why then, my lords and gentlemen, the comedy of the situation is the subject which should engage our attention—the humour of the position, the ludicrous position in which the Government find themselves, the ignominy of their attitude as compared with the one set of opinions in the North and another set of opinions in those parts of Ireland where Home Rule opinions prevail. But, after all, it was not worth while to summon from every point of the compass so great an assembly if our eyes were directed mainly to the past. We have got to consider the present. Even more certainly we have got to prepare for the future. Nor is it our business merely to exult or to smile, as our humour prompts us, over the failures of our opponents in the past. We have got to consider a new situation born of that failure, a situation which touches nearly the interests not only of every loyal Irishman, but every Unionist throughout the United Kingdom.

Dangers to be Faced.

Now, it is good that this phantom of Devolution should be for ever laid ; but the laying of that phantom carries with it a new situation and dangers which, if not new, if not unknown—and, unhappily, they are too well known to everybody who has followed the history of Ireland—carries with it dangers which demand our instant attention. There are, in my judgment, two classes of danger with which the decess of the late Bill and the abandonment of the Devolution policy have brought us face to face. The first is that the necessity of bringing, if possible, the Nationalist party into line with the ordinary Radical, may induce the Government, who have failed to bribe them by their measures, to bribe them by their administration. Their legislative suggestions have been thrown back in their face with contempt, with scorn, and with invective. They will probably present the other cheek to the smiter. They will probably endeavour to conciliate by other means those whom they have alienated by the character of their proposed legislation. What means have they got at their disposal ? There indeed remains the Evicted Tenants Bill, on which I don't propose to say a word to-night. We do not know what it is going to contain, and I prefer to attack a measure I have seen rather than to prophesy about a measure I have not seen. But apart from that Bill, what have they got to offer ? Mr. Redmond and his well-organised forces expect the relaxation of Irish administration, which Irish Nationalists have always regarded as their chief weapon against the Unionists, and against the minority of their countrymen with whom they differ in political opinion. I have not got the same opportunity of making myself acquainted with the internal condition of Ireland which I once had, and my opinions are necessarily founded upon second-hand evidence, which seems to me to be absolutely reliable.

Lawlessness in Ireland.

What says the evidence to which I refer ? It says that in parts of Ireland there is a growing system of intimidation, in parts of Ireland the illegal decrees of unauthorised bodies run without check from the

central Government ; a man is not free to conduct his own business in his own way ; he has to see the land, which no man denied was his, pass out of his hands, and he is driven—despite the law and despite all organisations—he is driven too often to make meek and humble submission to those who have no right to it, but who do nevertheless command him, and whose command he dare not oppose—to submit to partial ruin rather than to complete ruin, in the absence of that protection he has a right to demand. Now, I do not suppose that Ministers like Mr. Birrell have any affection for lawless proceedings—because it is without the law, and not within the law, but I cannot acquit them, either Mr. Birrell or his colleagues, of having used language in the House of Commons, and in the House of Lords, which they know, or might know, is of the very kind which in Ireland, and all countries in the world, strengthens the arm of the malefactors and paralyses the arm of the police. But here the method with which they deal with the class of outrage which is depriving free men of their freedom is one which cannot be commended to those who have the welfare of the country at heart, and who wish to see the greatness of the country continue in the future as in the past. I should be the last man to endeavour to exaggerate or to pervert a hasty phrase by a young and promising politician—I mean Lord Denman, whose experience in public speaking is necessarily small—Lord Denman's unhappy phrase about the gravity in the eyes of the Government of these abominable outrages. If that phrase stood alone, we might pardon it as one of those slips which even older speakers and more experienced politicians cannot always avoid ; but every statement made by the Chief Secretary in the House of Commons in answer to the cross-examination of my friends from Ulster, so happily, or unhappily, fits in with the spirit of Lord Denman's unhappy *obiter dictum* that I find it difficult to believe that the Government do really regard with sufficient seriousness the state of things, which may not extend, which does not extend, I believe, over anything like the greater part of Ireland ; but where it exists is an abominable outrage upon civilisation and liberty, is a thing to be put down by the strong arm of the law, is a thing against which the whole machinery of civilisation should be remorselessly directed.

Ministers' Mischievous Speeches.

And when we all know that the heads of the Administration in Ireland either are, or seem to be by their ill-chosen language, lukewarm in the cause of law and order, it follows as surely as night follows day that this lesson, or supposed lesson, is bettered by the malefactor, is absorbed by the officials responsible for administering the law, that all the forces making for outrage and disorder gain strength, and all the forces making for freedom and order are paralysed, and that the rights which every subject of the Crown possesses in every part of the King's dominions are not merely imperilled for the time being, but are lost, and that the unhappy victims of the true governors of Ireland—the true rulers at all events in these black spots in Ireland—these unhappy victims have neither protection nor redress from those to whom they have the right to look. That, my lords and gentlemen, is the most immediate and the most pressing of the dangers with which the Unionist party are face to face. But it is not the only one. What has happened ? The sham of Devolution has been exploded. Those members of the Radical party

who hate Home Rule, and they are many—those members of the Radical party who have professed their hatred of Home Rule, and they are few—these gentlemen are now deprived of that shelter under which they approached the siege of the constituencies at the last general election. I speak with authority upon this point, because, like many of those in this hall, I went through a contested election, and I spoke in many places. I remember among other places speaking at the very end of December, 1905, within a few days of the dissolution, and the last time I spoke in this hall—I remember trying to impress upon my audience that the peril of Home Rule was as great as it ever had been, that all this talk about Devolution was either hypocrisy or nonsense, and that it was vain for any Government or any party to hope that they could long avoid saying aye or nay to the question “Are you for Home Rule or are you for the Union?” I was not listened to.

Maintenance of the Union the Issue.

The audiences, whether here or elsewhere, to whom I spoke upon this all-important and absorbing subject were occupied with different issues—Chinese labour—and I remember being constantly interrupted when I was dealing with the situation which is upon us, and I was told, “Don’t raise this ghost or bogey of Home Rule; talk to us about the Chinese.” Well, I was quite ready to talk about the Chinese, and though I may have to make, and shall have to make, many speeches about Fiscal Reform, and though, I may add, I shall have to make many speeches about Home Rule, do not suppose that I mean to be wholly silent about the Chinese. But, my lords and gentlemen, what I want to deal with now is neither Fiscal Reform nor the Chinese, but this simple fact—that when I and my colleagues endeavoured to make the country feel eighteen months ago that they had not succeeded in escaping under the fog of Devolution from the pressing danger of Home Rule, we were right and the constituencies were wrong. And, now that Devolution is dead, buried, and everything else, we are face to face—and everybody knows it—we are face to face now with the simple naked issue, “Are you going to maintain the Union, or are you going to be faithless to it?” The events of the last three weeks have brought us back to 1886. Have you changed? Has the country changed? Are the dangers we then foresaw, we then explained, we then impressed upon our countrymen, and which we induced our countrymen to see with our own eyes—are those dangers less than they were? (Cries of “Greater.”) I think, if anything, they are greater; and for my part I am convinced, not only that nothing has occurred to change the situation since last Home Rule was before you as a direct issue, but that while the issue has remained unchanged the verdict of the country upon it will also remain unchanged. I cannot say—no man can say—what the effect upon the organisation of that strange collection of factions which goes by the name of the Radical party—I do not know what effect upon the organisation of that coalition recent events are likely to have; I know not what politicians like Sir Edward Grey or Mr. Asquith mean to do. I know not whether they have changed their opinion, I know not whether they are going to yield or to refuse to yield to the new pressure which must be put upon them; but this I know—that they can no longer say that the issue of Home Rule is not an issue before the constituencies.

The Coming Struggle—No Fear of the Result.

They can no longer say that between us and Home Rule there lies some *tertium quid*, some middle state, which by some may be regarded as merely a resting place to further developments, and to others may seem to be a permanent position in which Ireland may be placed as regards Great Britain. Two policies only remain alive—the policy of the Union and the policy of disintegration. No dexterity of statement, no obscurity of language, can disguise henceforth from every politician, from every member of the Cabinet, from every voter, however ignorant he may be of public affairs—nothing can henceforth disguise the fact that the two great forces, the forces for Union and the forces for Home Rule, are now ranged opposite one another, and that there is no room between them for those who hesitate to which of those two forces they shall henceforth give their allegiance. This change is, believe me, a change of the utmost gravity. It is a change the importance of which it is impossible to exaggerate, and though I cannot forecast the issue as far as the Radical party are concerned, I am the less perturbed at that since what I want to impress on you is that you must rely on your own strength and not on your enemy's divisions to bring this great struggle for the third time to a successful issue. Need we, members of the Unionist party in the House of Commons, need we doubt that we have behind us the same great strength of public opinion which has twice carried us to victory in the same great struggle? For my part I do not doubt it. We are but a small band—an increasing band—yet still a small band—in the House of Commons. When it comes to voting in the lobby, we can put into the field but a relatively small force; but for my part I look at that state of things with serene indifference. Our strength, if it be but small in the House of Commons, is great elsewhere. We have behind us a mass of feeling in the country which gives to every vote that we record in the House of Commons far more than its numerical value, for every man knows that were the issue joined again now—as it must be soon—and were it made clear, as clear it must assuredly be made in every constituency in the country, that the issue before us is not merely drawing closer the bonds of Union with the colonies and the mother country, but is also the issue of keeping the mother country intact and undivided, we need have no fear of the result. We need not heed the temporary, passing, fact that we are but a small minority in the House of Commons, for we shall at the critical moment show again, as we have so often shown before, that the powers of resistance of this country to rash and unconsidered and unpatriotic changes are still sufficient to maintain for us, and those who come after us, everything that we hold most sacred and most dear.

LORD LANSDOWNE.

Lord Lansdowne moved:—

“That this meeting emphatically protests against the Irish policy of the present Administration, which tends to invalidate the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and destroys those principles of respect for law and order which form the foundation of civilised government.”

His Lordship said:—You will observe that in this indictment there are two separate counts. We charge His Majesty's Government, in

the first place, with pursuing a policy which has a Separatist tendency ; and in the next place, we charge them with a policy which has been subversive of law and order in Ireland. Now, first as to the Separatist tendency of the policy of His Majesty's Government. I do not think it will be seriously disputed, at any rate by anyone in this building, that the policy of the Government has tended to weaken the Union between the two countries. It is a Government—whether you call it a Home Rule Government or not—it is a Government of Home Rulers. It is a Government of which the Prime Minister loses no opportunity of proclaiming himself a Home Ruler. I will not remind you of his often-quoted utterance upon that subject, but I think the views of His Majesty's Government are well summed up in an observation which fell in my hearing from a member of the Government whom we greatly respect on account of the sincerity of his character—I mean Lord Loreburn, the present Lord High Chancellor. This is what Lord Loreburn said. He told the House of Lords that it is written in destiny that this great change (Home Rule) will come, and he added, "I hope it will come before long." My lords and gentlemen, if we are true to ourselves we shall not live to see Home Rule, nor will our sons who come after live to see it.

Home Rule means Separation.

Well, now you will be told that Home Rule after all does not really mean Separation. You will be told that it is possible to have an Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive responsible to that Parliament, but that yet by means of some shadowy formula the supremacy of the Parliament at Westminster would be maintained. Don't believe a word of it. You have only to look at the modern history of Europe to see where it is that these Separatist movements lead you. Those of us who are old enough to remember the Home Rule campaign in the days of Mr. Gladstone will not have forgotten how fond he was of pointing to the case of Sweden and Norway as a triumphant instance of the success of Home Rule. He used to tell us that there was a constantly growing sympathy between Sweden and Norway. Where is that constantly growing sympathy ? It led to the dissolution of the Union, and to a state of things which you may take it from me—for I was behind the scenes at the time—was not very far from leading to war between the two countries. And observe that Irish patriots are at this moment exulting over what they are pleased to call the emancipation of Norway, and suggesting that similar emancipation should be extended to Ireland. We have lately seen the first attempt at a step in the direction of Home Rule. I will not follow Mr. Balfour in his admirable description of the Bill whose obsequies we are celebrating this evening.

Mr. Birrell's Pathetic Failure.

Its failure, to my mind, is something almost pathetic. It was an attempt, a most abortive and unsuccessful attempt, on one hand to retain his supporters, and on the other hand to press distinctly forward Home Rule, which is not at the moment on the political tapis. Well, the late Bill, was described by the Chief Secretary as a little, modest, shy, and humble effort. Was there ever such a description ? The words somehow recall to me the description given more than 100 years ago by the poet

Wordsworth of a lady whom he celebrated in lines which have rendered her immortal. The lady was a maid who

“ . . . dwelt among the untrodden ways
Beside the springs of Dove,
A maid whom there were none to praise,
And very few to love.”

I make the Chief Secretary for Ireland a present of that quotation. The lines went on—

“ . . . and few could know
When Lucy ceased to be ;
But she is in her grave, and oh !
The difference to me.”

But similes are always dangerous things, and my simile is most unfair—to Lucy—because she was evidently a very modest and unassuming young person. But the Lucy to whom I will refer was, on the contrary, to my mind, a very unblushing and immodest young person. She possessed very great effrontery. For example, she suggested that there should be a settlement of £26,000,000 of your money and mine. She was to have the power of managing three-quarters of the family estates. She was to be allowed to dismiss all the old servants, and finally, and perhaps most important of all, she was to have the sole right of managing the education of the children.

Nationalists and Education.

When I think of the appeals which were made last year to the Nonconformist conscience, when I think of the indignation with which our attempts to improve the Education Bill of last year were met, I own I was amazed at the effrontery of this proposal to place in the hands of a Nationalist party in Ireland the sole control of primary and intermediate education. Well, my lords and gentlemen, I hope that we at any rate have learned a lesson from the contemptuous rejection of the Bill containing these provisions. If that Bill is flung back contemptuously in the face of its authors, what kind of a Bill, I ask you, will it be which satisfies the demands of the Nationalist party ? What kind of protection will it give to minorities in Ireland ? Why, let me again remind you of another dictum of Mr. Birrell during the Home Rule debate. He told the House of Commons that no system of government would secure to the minorities of the South and West of Ireland any representation whatever upon the newly-created Council ; yet it was in the hands of these people, if we are to believe in the policy of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, that the interests of the loyal minority in Ireland were to be placed. I hope we have learned our lesson. But have we any reason to suppose that His Majesty's Government have learned their lesson ? I see no sign of it. The gallant veteran who leads the House in which I sit told an audience the other day that he remained an unrepentant Home Ruler, and the Prime Minister has announced that his views are not only unchanged, but confirmed by the rejection of the Council Bill, and he went on to tell his audience that if they wanted to know what His Majesty's Government were going to do next they must wait and see. I own that I think we are rather too often condemned to the

waiting-room in matters of this kind. We are waiting to see what is going to be done as to temperance. We are waiting to see what is going to be done as to education. We are waiting to see what is going to be done as to the militia, and I need not say I am waiting to see what is going to be done to the House of Lords. Well, gentlemen, all I can say is that if His Majesty's Ministers remain unrepentant Home Rulers we remain unrepentant opponents of Home Rule, and we are ready to try the conclusion upon any platform and in any constituency.

The Second Count in the Indictment.

In regard to the second count in the indictment, I must venture to invite you, if you have not done so already, to read the discussion which took place the other evening in the House of Lords, initiated by my noble friend Lord Londonderry. In the House of Lords we have a great advantage over the House in which my honourable friend Mr. Balfour sits. We have freedom of speech. The gag, the guillotine, and the closure—all methods of barbarism—which are so frequently applied in the House of Commons—are unknown to us, and then we have occasional opportunities of proposing these questions and discussing them in detail. The other evening we were able to show conclusively from the evidence of learned judges that in their opinion the state of many parts of Ireland was very serious, that the police were greatly overtaxed, that the behaviour of some of the local benches was what I can only describe as scandalous, so scandalous that we were informed that some of these delinquent magistrates had had to be rapped over the knuckles by the Irish Lord Chancellor. We were able to show that the courts of the Land League were taking the place of the legitimate courts of the country, and we elicited from the Government the reluctant admission that in several counties the condition of things occasioned such grave anxiety that it was necessary to take steps not to maintain law and order but to re-establish law and order, and that it was their intention to enforce the ordinary law of the land for the purpose. I think we have a right to ask why it has been that they have been allowed to come to that pass. Why, with these possibilities hanging over them, did the Government repeal the Arms Act? Why did they proclaim ostentatiously that the Crimes Act was dead and buried, and why did they accept a resolution pledging them to repeal that Act? It is not incorrect to say that in any country the law must be adapted to the conditions prevailing in the country, and that laws which are sufficient where the population is a law-abiding one are not sufficient where it is the habit of the people to defy the law.

A Perversion of Facts.

I am deeply persuaded that Ireland would be peaceable and prosperous if she were only allowed to be peaceful. It is a monstrous and criminal perversion of the facts to represent her as a country poverty-stricken, ground down, and honeycombed with want and disease; and it is more monstrous to suggest that a Bill such as the Irish Council Bill would be the means of removing poverty and disease where they still exist as the survival of the period which I am glad to say is rapidly passing away. The real canker in Ireland is the tyranny of illegal organisations, a tyranny which is eating into the vitals of the country, trading on the worst passions of

the people of Ireland, and diverting their attention from their legitimate pursuits. And it is because the Government, either through ignorance or timidity, have failed altogether to recognise the gravity of these symptoms that the state of things has arisen in the country which this resolution properly describes as tending to destroy their principles of respect for law and order, which form the foundations of civilised government. I beg to move the resolution.

EARL PERCY, M.P.

Earl Percy, in seconding the resolution, said he could not add much to the forcible language in which his noble friend had moved the resolution. The meeting had been described in the Press as a kind of wake over the dead body of our enemy, but he should be inclined to describe it as a public inquest into the causes of death. As to the immediate cause of death, it was a clear case of suicide, and in view of the evidence which Ministers had recently given them he did not think they could refuse to add to the verdict the legitimate rider, "While temporarily of unsound mind." The Home Secretary, Mr. Gladstone, the other day at Leeds, said that most of the Cabinet knew this Bill would not satisfy the majority of the Irish people. They knew that the Cabinet had decided all along that if it did not satisfy them they would not go on with it. Therefore, they had three very interesting facts. First, that the Cabinet were divided; secondly, that it was not the Bill of a majority, but the Bill of a minority; and that the Cabinet deliberately recommended to the House of Commons a measure which they knew to be unworkable and foredoomed to failure.

Contempt for the House of Commons.

The whole thing was, in fact, a rash practical joke, and next week, or the week after, when the House of Commons was asked to admonish the House of Lords of the deference which ought to be paid to the House of Commons, they would bear in mind the kind of way in which the Government had thought it proper to treat the elected representatives of the people. If these were the schemes of the minority, what were the schemes of the majority of the Cabinet, and why did they allow themselves to be over-ruled? They all knew that the scheme which commended itself to them was Home Rule, and that they allowed this Bill to be brought in because they treated it as a preliminary to Home Rule. But Mr. Redmond found in it two things which were fatal to Nationalist hopes, and therefore decided that the Bill should be abandoned. One of these things is the composition of the councils, and the other was the veto of the Lord Lieutenant. Who could doubt which was the more important of these provisions from the point of view of the country and Ulster? The first would have allowed Ulster some voice in the deliberation, though not in the decision of the councils, but the veto of the Lord Lieutenant was at once the only effective safeguard of the minority against oppression, and the only effective security for the maintenance of the Imperial supremacy; and yet, incredible as it appeared from a subsequent statement of the Prime Minister, it was the most important of those provisions which the Government were prepared to modify, if necessary, in order to meet the views of Mr. Redmond and his friends; and it was only because they were determined to insist

on the least of these safeguards that the Nationalists rejected the Bill. Could one possibly have clearer proof of the futility of the safeguards for the loyal minority? Whether or not the measure could be properly described as a Home Rule Bill, at all events one thing was certain, that if it had passed it would have made the Government of Ireland by England impossible.

An Unworkable Scheme.

The Irish Solicitor-General acknowledged on the first reading of the Bill that the veto of the Lord Lieutenant was absolutely necessary if the administration of Ireland itself was not to be brought to a deadlock; and as to the rest of the United Kingdom, conceive what chaos the business in the House of Commons would have been plunged, if that veto of the Lord Lieutenant had been exercised and the Nationalists had come down to demand the adjournment of the House in order to call attention to the tyranny of the English garrison. Had the country seen the last of these attempts to ransack the whole civilised globe in order to find a Constitution more appropriate to Ireland than that of the historic mother of Parliaments? He should not be a bit surprised if next year Ireland were offered a copy of the system which had been introduced into Macedonia. They might have an Inspector-General instead of a Lord Lieutenant, an International Commission to regulate the finances of the country, and a series of Consular Courts with extra territorial jurisdiction for the benefit of the European inhabitants in the province of Ulster. And if there was any conflict between the minority and the majority in Ireland, or between Ireland and Great Britain, he had no doubt that the present Prime Minister would be perfectly willing to refer the differences for settlement to the Court of Arbitration at the Hague.

The Time to Act.

The present was no time for silence. It was the time to act and speak, and to show on every platform in the country the nature of the pit which the Government digged for themselves, with only themselves to fall into it. Let it be known once more that they would not have Home Rule in any shape or form. Let them ask the electors of this country to do one act of kindness, which was in their power, to poor Ireland, and that was to put in office as speedily as possible a Government which would not waste its time in philosophical discussions as to the precise criminality which was attachable to the act of chasing other people's cows, but would perform the first duty of any civilised Administration—to see that the subjects of His Majesty, rich and poor, high and low, were enabled to go about their own business. Men like Sir Horace Plunkett and others had given the best years of their life to the material development of the country, whilst at the present moment the Government were doing all they could to undo the great good such men had done. The Crimes Act was left in abeyance because the Government, instead of supporting law and order, were seeking the respect and confidence of the criminals. They were there that night to echo the words of the Prime Minister, "Enough of this foolery." The Liberals had acknowledged by bringing in this Bill that they had no right to and could not govern Ireland, and, therefore, they should make room for those who could.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

MR. LONG, M.P.

The Right Honourable Walter Long, M.P., moved :—

“That it is the duty of the Unionist party to place before the electors of the United Kingdom the paramount need of an impartial and vigorous administration of the law in Ireland, upon which depends the liberty and safety of individual citizens and the ultimate development of the resources of the country.”

He said : I feel that the first words I ought to say are in explanation of my appearance to move this resolution, that it is due to the committee who are responsible for this meeting. A decision was come to to leave this resolution in the hands of the Irish representatives, and I am proud to say that the Ulster Association of Unionists, of which I have the honour now to be chairman, paid me the great compliment of asking me to represent them on this occasion. There is some significance in the fact that one who has throughout the whole of his political career been identified with English affairs should have been asked to fulfil the position of chairman of one of the great Irish Unionist bodies. Our chairman, in the great speech which he has made this evening—a speech which justified this gathering if there had been nothing else—has marked a new era in this Irish fight, which has made it plain, if there were any room for doubt, that the Liberal party are incompetent of governing Ireland, and that the Unionist party are prepared to force the battle at the earliest possible moment. Our chairman in the course of that speech told us with great force and eloquence, and in that unequalled manner that he has, that we were back in 1885 and 1886. Yes, I believe we are back to that period. Whether we are in the House of Commons or not, we are prepared to fight for the Union, whatever the difficulties of the position may be, and to go for this development of local institutions. If we had not rallied and been bound together in the common cause as we have been, I feel sure we should have had Home Rule with us here. It is not for me to make a speech. We have heard speeches to-night from the leader of our party, and from our leader in the House of Lords, and I would like to say it is to our leader in the House of Lords that we look for much help and assistance. Never in the course of my experience in Parliament—and it extends now for more than a quarter of a century—have I known political power used in so tyrannical a manner as it has been by the present Government. But, after all, that does not matter very much. Their time is passing. They are beginning to realise that they are not exactly the right men in the right place, and I think we may contemplate their discomfort not merely with equanimity, but also with some feeling of pity. It seems to me there are two main reasons why we ought to confirm this resolution to-night, and to act up to it. The first is that it is the only possible barrier to Home Rule, which aims at the destruction of the empire. The second is that it means the prosperity of the people of Ireland, because unless you establish the law, I do not care how much money you spend—you might pour your millions into Ireland with the freest hand—but if you do not make the law respected, and see that it is administered impartially as between all parties, your money might as well be thrown into the Thames for any good it will do. I have also to appeal—and I cannot believe I shall appeal in vain—on behalf of the people of Ireland to the people of the United Kingdom, and I am not thinking now of landlords, although I am not ashamed to

stand up here for the landlords, or in the House of Commons. I am not thinking of the landlords ; I am not thinking of those who, if they are driven to the very worst, can leave the country and live elsewhere. I am thinking of those who to-day are being put down by the strong hand of the police when things got so bad that even the present Government could not contemplate them without some action—those poor people who were dispersed by force, and who, because the Government is weak and cowardly, have been led to believe that they might act with impunity, and were the dupes not only of their leaders on the spot, but of the Government itself. I believe every word that has been said about these disorders is absolutely true. I believe the police are worked almost beyond their powers of endurance. I believe there are not sufficient police to do the work they are called upon to do, and I look forward to the coming month with the greatest anxiety. The present Government has shown itself thoroughly incapable of making Ireland contented and prosperous. If you would achieve that object you must make the people understand that you will be just all round, and you will tolerate no illegality, no injustice, no interference with the liberty of the subject. It is extraordinary that we should have to appeal to a British audience in the name of liberty. Is it not a shame to all of us that in a place not many hours distant there should be no liberty and no freedom for a large number of our fellow-citizens ? This great meeting affirms these principles and cheers these sentiments. I ask it, does this meeting mean business ? Then I charge it, on behalf of those whom I represent—the Unionists of Ireland—I charge this meeting to see that they do not end their work here to-night, but that they go out into the constituencies throughout the country and preach what has been taught here to-night, what you have thought, and what you have cheered. If you will do that, not only will you make Home Rule impossible, but you will bring back to the people of Ireland the realisation that they have the protection and the help of their brethren over here. And once you have taught them that you will have done more to cure Ireland's difficulties than you will ever do by talking of the union of hearts, or trying to bring the government of Ireland into accordance with Irish ideas. Thus, and thus only, will Ireland have what she is entitled to ask—justice, in order that she may have freedom.

MR. BAGWELL.

Mr. Richard Bagwell, in seconding the resolution, said he was present to represent the Irish Loyalists, and he had opposed the Home Rule movement since 1870. There were Unionists in all parts of Ireland, but not in sufficient numbers to return members to Parliament. One county alone returned Mr. Long, and Mr. Long was a host in himself. The Irish Unionists were excluded not only from Parliament, but were boycotted in many of their own local affairs. In the whole of the three provinces there were 19 Unionist councillors and 666 Nationalists. In Munster there were two Unionist councillors for seven counties, in Connaught two for five counties, and in Leinster there were a few more. It was to England, the predominant partner, that Irishmen must appeal for protection and justice. It was true there was a considerable number from Ulster, but Ulster did not know exactly how the others felt who were living under the tyranny. When the Ulster members went out of their

way to find out where oppression was going on in Ireland, then the Minister who was responsible for the whole of the country called them "carion crows." That had been repeated all over the country ; but he asserted that the Minister who said that would lose very much more by it than the Ulster members. As to Devolution, that was dead, and being a sham, every honest man ought to rejoice. It was only people who lived in Ireland, like himself, who thoroughly understood the matter. That put him in mind of the tourist who asked an Irish ecclesiastic what he was to do to understand the Irish question. The answer was : "If you want to understand the Irish question, you must be born again, and take care your mother is an Irish woman." The tyranny he had spoken of was not from the genuine Irish at all ; it was kept up from money subscribed from outsiders and from the King's enemies in America, and by his badly-informed subjects in other countries. For the protection of rural life in Ireland two things were necessary—magistrates and police. Unfortunately the magistrates had amongst them men who were not ashamed to turn the judicial bench into a political platform, and these were the men he should like to see checked. He remembered a case where a police officer was asked if he required an additional force in his district. He replied that he had enough police if he was supported by the authorities. The result was he was removed from the district. To illustrate the state of a part of the county of Cork, he said he had read the day before of an application made to Mr. Justice Johnson for an order to serve a process by post, as the process servers said they did not dare to serve it, even with the aid of the police. The Justice said the existence of such a state of things in a civilised country was monstrous. He had great pleasure in supporting the resolution.

The motion was carried by acclamation.

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.

Lord Londonderry, in moving a vote of thanks to the chairman, said it was now over twenty years since, in conjunction with Mr. Balfour, his Irish political-chief, they endeavoured to grapple with and solve what had always been termed the unsolvable Irish problem. At that time there existed in certain parts of Ireland a state of affairs of almost an appalling character, and a state of crime that could not be detected. There existed a state of lawlessness almost amounting to anarchy ; but by firmness Mr. Balfour, before he left the Chief Secretaryship, had brought Ireland to be peaceful, law-abiding, and prosperous. He agreed that the Irish Council Bill was dead ; but there was more than that, and that was Home Rule, which was not dead—in fact, it was very much to the front. One thing the Bill had done was that it had roused the country from a state of considerable apathy. He believed that people were realising the dangers which threatened them in 1886 and 1893. The younger generation had, no doubt, forgotten the reign of terror of those days ; but the people were speedily awakening and realising that Home Rule was actually before them.

SIR EDWARD CARSON.

Sir Edward Carson, in seconding the vote of thanks, observed that the throwing out of the Irish Council Bill marked the doom of the Liberal policy in relation to Ireland. He suggested that the Prime Minister

would do well at the present moment if, instead of carrying ridiculous and bombastic resolutions against the House of Lords, he were to apply his mind seriously to seeing how he could get rid of the Irish Convention in Dublin, for it was there the Bill was killed.

The resolution was then put and carried with enthusiasm.

MR. BALFOUR.

Mr. Balfour, in reply, said:—This great meeting is now drawing to its conclusion. Often have I been concerned in political gatherings—political gatherings some of them called together to deal with the same great subject which has occupied our thoughts this evening—but never have I seen one more unanimous, more united, more representative, more determined to maintain as long as it may be necessary to fight the battle—that is as long as our opponents insist on pressing their policy upon us—never have I seen an assembly better fitted and more determined to carry out that great object. I thank you for the response you have given to the resolution proposed by two of my old colleagues in the government of Ireland—by the Lord Lieutenant, and one who when I was Chief Secretary showed a courage, a resolution, a skill, and an unflinching determination which in no small measure served to bring to a successful issue the policy on which the Unionist party were then and always will be engaged—the policy of maintaining law and order in Ireland. That the resolutions should be proposed by these two old friends, so closely associated with me in the great Irish struggle of years gone by, adds, if anything could indeed add, to the feelings which are necessarily experienced at the warmth with which their proposal has been accepted. Gentlemen, I heartily thank you. We are at the beginning of a great fight. I have no doubt about the issue.

The proceedings were brought to a conclusion by singing “God save the King.”

THE BOYCOTT IN IRELAND.

By an Irish Farmer.

"LET us hedge round those who differ from us in political opinion in such a way that they cannot get in their harvests, let us warn the labourers not to work for them, the shopkeepers not to sell them the necessaries of life. They are to be outcasts, lepers, men branded with the curse of Cain, socially excommunicated. This will bring our enemies to their knees and compel them either to fall in with our ideas, or leave the country, as their lives will not be worth living."

These ominous words were used by Charles Stuart Parnell, at Ennis, on September 19, 1880, and from this advice, this cruel and unchristian advice, sprang the hateful system of boycotting in Ireland—a system which has carried more sorrow and more disaster in its train than any other issue during the past 27 years in Ireland. The means advocated for bringing the enemies of the so-called National cause to their knees found ready adherents in many parts of the country, and a hateful régime was soon adopted, more or less successful according to the powers of resistance which the unfortunate victims to this tyranny were able to offer.

It is my object to endeavour to draw a picture from life of what a small farmer suffered when this cruel ban of the "boycott" was applied to him. Let it not be thought that the system is only applied to those of the landlord class who, being representatives of the "English garrison," are specially obnoxious. Many and many a case is on record where the victim has been a small and humble farmer, whose sole fault may have been that he was adjudged guilty by the local tribunal of Nationalists of having in some way or another infringed the unwritten law of the League.

The family I refer to is one owning a farm in one of the Midland Counties of Ireland. Let my readers picture to themselves this humble Protestant family, residing in a tidy house, whitewashed and slated, with good sheds attached, not far from where the lordly Shannon flows at the foot of the Slieve Bawn mountains.

These people, whom I have known intimately for years, had always borne themselves uprightly in the face of all men. They had ever been looked upon as good neighbours, and I assert that the bulk of the people around them would never have approved of the policy of boycotting, had they not been overborne by the few local tyrants into whose hands such matters always pass in Ireland. Needless now to go into the cause of the ban being applied; suffice it that the reason given was that a negotiation about some vacant land, carried out in a perfectly legal way and under the shelter of the privileges which ought to be enjoyed by every citizen of the British Empire, was the ostensible cause of the dispute. So a resolution was passed at a League meeting by some worthless demagogues after Mass on a Sunday, and formed the basis on which the campaign against these unoffending people was launched. . . Already signs are seen that something is wrong; when the farmer leaves his work—be he ploughing or reaping—and passes along the road to see how his sheep are doing on another farm, he is met with stony glances; a grim

silence prevails amongst those who only yesterday were his kindly neighbours and friends. His crops are left to rot on the ground at harvest time, because he and his two sturdy sons alone were unable to get all finished before the winter's rain commenced; and how it can rain at times there, when a west wind laden with heavy moisture drives the drifting clouds before it from Galway and the western seaboard! No high wages, no promise of extra remuneration, could induce any of his former helpers to come to the rescue.

Do you, farmers of Great Britain, realise what it is for an isolated family such as the one I describe, when the long winter evenings come on, to sit round the fire in their humble home and to know that possibly shots may be fired through the window, or that at any rate there is nothing to hope for the next day but again the dreary round of farming operations carried on with difficulty, when all the neighbours look askance at one and will do nothing to assist?

This man at one time could neither buy nor sell stock in the local fairs; he could get no supplies of any sort in the local town; and he told me how astonished he was that a certain shopkeeper with whom he had dealt for years, and with whom he had been on friendly and intimate terms, suddenly refused to sell him any goods, at the same time expressing his regret at being obliged to carry out the unwritten law of the League. All his food, all his necessities of life had to be got from Dublin, through the good offices of a local Protestant clergyman. The writer of this article some time ago, rather than see this man suffer, bought all his sheep from him which he had failed entirely to sell in a local fair. Can anything more cruel be imagined than for a whole community to treat one, who until just recently had been popular and a good neighbour, in such a way? I doubt whether in any so-called civilised country in the world such a state of affairs could obtain.

This family that I refer to has now weathered the storm as far as being strictly boycotted goes, but even now no labouring man can be induced, though offered good wages, to do a day's work on some of their land. But though the severity of this horrible system has somewhat subsided, signs are rife enough that under the weak and hesitating régime of this Radical Government, there will be a recrudescence of numerous similar acts of tyranny such as that which I have described. The Cabinet has allowed the Peace Preservation Act to lapse, and guns are being purchased freely at local ironmongers. The Crimes Act, which by its provisions enabled the Executive Government to cope with this horrible crime of boycotting, has been laid on one side, much to the jubilation of the law-breaker and the anxiety and disgust of those who desire but to live peaceful and honest lives and to be unmolested by the boycotter and the village ruffian. How much longer will such things be allowed to last? Surely it is inconceivable that a Government, boasting of those great Liberal traditions which ought to shield every law-abiding citizen so long as he discharges his duty, is going to acquiesce in a reign of terror which, if not soon checked, will ere long surpass the record of the worst days of the Land League? Although the cases of overt boycotting are not now as numerous as they were, there are some parts of Ireland where unfortunately an ingeniously secret system of intimidation is in vogue. It is none the less effective on that account. If only in Great Britain the ordinary voter at Parliamentary elections, the small cottager in the

rural parts, the small townsman in the large cities, who has always enjoyed to the full the splendid freedom which ought to be the heritage of every British born subject, can be got to fully realise what boycotting in Ireland means, how scores of humble families there have been ruined by it, surely he would insist that his Parliamentary representative should give him assurances that, no matter what his political speculations about Ireland might be, he would be no party to such a relaxation of the law as tends only to increase the power of the village tyrant, whose one object is to bring to their knees men who, for their independence and integrity, are as a rule the best and most honest members of the local community.

None, except those who have had personal knowledge of such cases, can have any conception of the petty tyrannies, of the mean and spiteful actions prompted often by cupidity, which abound in this country at the present moment. These are not directed solely against Protestants and Unionists, but also, in some cases, against humble Roman Catholic Nationalists. May the day soon dawn for Ireland when this accursed system will be crushed by the strong arm of the law, and thus all classes will be enabled to live in freedom in the country of their birth.

THE CRIMES ACT.

Signs are not wanting that the Government are at last beginning to realise that in Ireland the "ordinary law" is not sufficient to protect his Majesty's subjects in the present disturbed state of that country. They are reluctantly compelled to admit that throughout many counties in the south and west of Ireland the law of the United Irish League has superseded the law of the land; that magistrates decline to direct prosecutions for misdemeanours which are not even defended in Court, and that juries refuse to convict upon the plainest evidence. Judges complain that the dispensing of justice has become a farce; resident magistrates admit that their professional knowledge and advice is out-weighted by the prejudices of the majority of the occupants of local benches, whose seats thereon are gained by the accidental fact that they are Chairmen of some County or District Council. In the light of such evidence it becomes apparent that, if Ireland is not to be delivered over to anarchy, strong measures must be taken to enforce that respect for the law which is usual in every civilised country. Such measures lie ready to the hand of the Government if only they will exercise a certain amount of courage and self-respect. In 1882 Mr. Gladstone had similar troubles confronting him; he met them by passing a Crimes Act, which had an immediate and excellent effect. In 1887 there was a recrudescence of agrarian disturbance, and Mr. Balfour dealt with it in a Crimes Act which re-enacted the milder provisions of Mr. Gladstone's Bill. That Act is on the Statute Book to-day, but the Government are afraid to use it for fear lest the cry of "Coercion" should be used against them. It is not generally known that Mr. Balfour's Act proposed as an extraordinary law for Ireland that which is the ordinary law in Scotland. The same provisions which Irish agitators denounce as "coercive" and "tyrannous," because they

compel obedience to the law, pass unheeded by the Scottish people, who have "suffered" under them all their lives, and have suffered gladly.

Let us examine a few of the points in which the Crimes Act and the ordinary Scottish law are identical. Under both there is the power of holding a Preliminary Inquiry; in Scotland this may be taken by the Procurator-Fiscal, and in Ireland by a resident magistrate. It is to ensure that witnesses shall attend and give evidence in respect of crime, whether anyone has been charged with its commission or not. Without such an inquiry it is often found impossible in Ireland to detect and arrest a criminal; but it is worth mentioning that, whereas this provision applies to the whole of Scotland always, where the accused person is neither present nor represented and the inquiry is held in private, in Ireland it can only be operative in a proclaimed district when specially invoked by the Attorney-General, and the inquiry is held in public.

Again, the power of "Summary Jurisdiction" is well known in Scotland, where summary cases are tried by the Sheriff, or Sheriff-substitute, sitting alone, without any right of appeal upon the merits of the case; yet Ireland is worked into a state of national commotion at the idea of these summary powers being given to **two** Resident Magistrates, with a right of appeal by the prisoner on the merits of the case. Once more, Mr. Gladstone created "special juries" in 1882, and Mr. Balfour copied his Clause (4) in the Act of 1887; this gave rise to terrible indignation in Ireland, but in Scotland (all the year round) on each criminal jury of fifteen there are five special jurors, and nobody objects. Finally, it will be remembered that the very idea of removing the prisoner for trial outside the district in which the crime was perpetrated roused the criminals of Ireland to an abnormal condition of excitement; yet it was only so provided in order to secure "more fair and impartial trials and to relieve jurors from danger to their lives, properties, and business." In Scotland, however, the Lord Advocate always possesses almost uncontrolled power of fixing the place of trial by jury. He may direct it to take place (1) before the Sheriff of the County with a jury; or (2) before the High Court of Justiciary on Circuit at the circuit town for the district; or (3) before the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh. Yet nobody in Scotland complains, and it has not yet been alleged that Scotsmen are less independent or courageous than the Irish.

This, then, is the measure which the Government might enforce at any moment to quell the disturbances that shame the fair face of Ireland. It creates no new crimes, but it deals with boycotting and intimidation, as well as other outrages, in the summary manner which the laws of civilisation demand. It has, before this, proved a blessing to the law-abiding subjects of the Sovereign, and a terror only to those who set the law at defiance. It is a measure which Liberals and Tories have had to use in the past, and it is one which, at the present moment, is absolutely necessary if the law of England is to reign supreme.

EVICTED TENANTS.

By Ian Malcolm.

I should like, if possible, to interest the British voter in yet another of the Irish problems which press for solution at the hands of the present generation, namely, the possibility or otherwise of reinstating "evicted tenants" upon the farms which belonged to them before they were, for one reason or another, compelled to quit them.

The phrase "evicted tenant" may mean a number of things to an Englishman. To an Irishman it means a man who, between the years 1879—1887, either could not or would not pay his rent to his landlord, but who preferred, if he had the money, to hand it over to the Secretary of the Plan of Campaign—a movement which was started to bring the landlords to their knees during the great "Land War"—to be used as the leaders of that movement thought best. As in England so in Ireland, the man who refuses to pay his rent has to go; and the result was that, since the promoters of the No-Rent Manifesto, the Land League, and the Plan of Campaign, advised every peasant to refuse to pay, wholesale evictions took place, and hundreds of families suffered for the sinful policy of their leaders. Few will deny that the misery which followed these evictions was sad in the extreme; but the crime and outrage which, as Mr. Gladstone said at the time, "dogged the footsteps of the Land League," prevented Englishmen from feeling that sympathy with the misguided tenants which otherwise they might have felt. It was impossible at a time when murder and moonlighting, dynamite and widespread conspiracy, stalked abroad in Ireland, to hold out the hand of hope to the poor peasantry who had been goaded into rebellion.

Help for Honesty.

Twenty-five years afterwards, however, the case was different. It was felt that the time had come when, under fair conditions, these men might be reinstated in their old holdings—always provided that they were competent to till them and that the present occupier should receive liberal compensation for disturbance if he were willing to give up the farm to the previous occupier. So Mr. Wyndham brought in his Land Bill of 1903, with its "evicted tenants" clauses; but it was generally understood that these clauses were only to operate on those estates where the Plan of Campaign had existed, and only to concern themselves with the restoration of the "wounded soldiers in the war" (numbering now about 400), who had lost their holdings in fighting for other people's principles. It was not suggested or anticipated that the benefits of this Land Act would be extended to every tenant who could show that he had lost possession of his holding, no matter from what cause; and certainly no human being imagined that these provisions would apply in perpetuity after 1903 to all future cases of eviction for non-payment of rent. Of the Plan of Campaign estates, Lord Clanricarde's is practically the only one now unsettled, and this is owing to the

fact that many of his ex-tenants cling to the idea that they must be restored to their former holdings and refuse to accept land elsewhere—a procedure which would involve the eviction of those farmers who are now, and have been for years, in occupation of such farms, and of whom I shall write a word in a moment. With regard to the other claimants (numbering, according to Mr. Birrell, some 6,000), a great many of them are known to have been evicted from their holdings because of their incapacity as farmers; others were men who, no matter how fair the rent may have been, were unable to farm the land, to support a family, and to pay rent, whether by reason of their own personal failings, or of general incompetency to conduct their business, we need not stay to inquire.

Pampering Wastrels.

If such men are to be reinstated on their own terms we may expect two results as certain: first, that these ne'er-do-wells will fail once again, and will once more have to be sold out; and secondly that, whilst they are being pampered at the expense of the State, the honest and hard-working tenant who is anxious to buy a piece of land will have to stand by and watch the preference of pre-emption go to his worthless neighbour. To show the cruel injustice of the scheme, as the Government would like to introduce it, let me take the case of a large business like Whiteley's, and notice how it would fare under treatment analogous to that proposed for the evicted tenants. In such a case, every clerk who had been dismissed for misconduct or incapacity or neglect during the past twenty-five years would be informed that the Government would interfere, with the purpose of restoring him to his former place, after having compulsorily got rid of the man who succeeded the dismissed servant; the clerk would further be told that the Government would make him a handsome present of cash for his general re-equipment. Imagine such a course of procedure in an English business establishment; it would lead to chaos in a week. Yet it presents a very fair parallel to the Irish demand with respect to the restoration of evicted tenants; in both cases the wastrel would be triumphant, the feelings of those who had consistently done their duty would be outraged, and the indignation of the men compulsorily ejected from their means of livelihood in order to reinstate a dismissed servant would be intense. Such feelings will be aroused in the breasts of all honest Irishmen who have paid their way for the past quarter of a century, when they are ordered to make room for the wastrels whom the Government are anxious to reward. Moreover, the inducements which are now held out to evicted tenants, either of restoration or of a new farm, at an annuity considerably lower than a fair rent, with free money grants and other aid for building and stocking and equipment, are enough to make every tenant wish that he had not paid his rent regularly, thus losing his qualification to participate in these advantages. Obviously, too, such inducements must enormously increase the difficulties of landlords in recovering their outstanding debts for rent, and will hinder the efforts of the Land Commissioners to enforce payment of the annuities due as repayment of the money advanced by the State for the purchase of Irish land. Above all things, the spectacle of life's failures and of the generally inefficient members of society becoming the spoiled children of the Government

is demoralising in the extreme, and is bound to have a disastrous effect upon the spirit of self-help and progress and independence which is vital for the health of any community.

Of course, as the time for the discussion of the Bill draws nearer, harrowing pictures will, no doubt, be exhibited of evicted families perishing by the road-side under conditions of inconceivable misery ; but, thank goodness, we shall know from past experience that these pictures are the work of a highly imaginative political artist who executes party paintings for a political purpose, and who hopes to share the success achieved by his brother-craftsmen who drew the famous election placards dealing with Chinese slavery in the mines of the Transvaal. The fact is that there are exceedingly few able-bodied evicted tenants (who are anxious to work) who are not at this moment occupied in some form of employment ; indeed, to many of them eviction came as a blessing in disguise when it turned their attention to forms of labour more congenial and more lucrative to them than farming.

* A " Coercion " Policy.

One word on the compulsory aspect of this business, and on the fate of the honest farmer who is to be removed in order to reinstate the evicted tenant. The evidence taken before the Dudley Commission shows conclusively that two out of the three Estates Commissioners, who are now engaged in a scheme of voluntary purchase from Irish landlords, are wholly in favour of compulsion on a large scale. Mr. Bailey made it very plain, when giving his evidence on November 13th, that he advised a full panoply of compulsory powers over tenanted and untenanted lands in Ireland ; and Mr. Finucane declared, on November 7th, that such compulsory powers should be exercised not only against landlords, but against tenant farmers and tenant purchasers who own more than a stipulated area ! This appears to be the latest " Irish " idea ; that A. may be compelled to sell his land to B., but that B. may not buy from C., who is anxious to sell, if B. has more than a certain quantity of land. B.'s farming capacity may be evident to all, and his prosperity may enrich the neighbourhood, but he is not to extend his opportunities of doing good lest the theories of the Estates Commissioners may be upset. No doubt the theory of compulsion will be in the forefront of the Evicted Tenants Bill ; surely the House of Commons, if not the country, has a right to ask that it may peruse the proceedings of the Dudley Commission, which will contain the latest evidence on the subject, before proceeding to the examination of so important a change in the Land Law of Ireland.

Now, as regards farmer C., who is told that evicted tenant D. is to be restored to the farm in which C. has worked ever since D.'s dismissal 25 years ago. What is to be done with C. ? That is a difficulty into which the Dudley Commission has been inquiring, and concerning which there is a great variety of contradictory evidence—and it is essential that the findings of the Commission upon this point should be known before the Evicted Tenants Bill is passed into law. Some witnesses declare that C. and his friends would firmly decline to make way for D. and his

** The Evicted Tenants Bill is presented to Parliament in June; the Report of the Dudley Commission, which is enquiring into the case of the Evicted Tenants is not expected till December.*

gang, in which case Mr. Finucane says they must not be driven like dumb cattle, and must stay where they are; others declare that C. would willingly go elsewhere if it were made worth his while by the State.

Police Protection.

But where is he to go to? Will he, as a "stranger," be welcomed in another district or county? Upon this point Mr. Finucane was most illuminating. He said that there was a certain amount of selfish opposition to the introduction of "strangers" of the C. and D. class, but he did not think there was very much of it; however, he added, if public opinion failed to silence this opposition, then the "aid of the law and the police should be invoked." This surprising picture of a farmer or an evicted tenant migrating into a distant district with a posse of police to protect him from injury at the hands of the natives gave rise to a certain amount of cross-examination. But the Commissioner stuck to his guns, and added that in all such cases of difficulty he would say to the migrating farmer: "These people in this neighbourhood are unreasonable, I will protect you by calling in the police," and he assured the Commission that "there are morally greater grounds for doing so than in the case of a boycotted landlord who had to be protected by the police." No wonder Sir Antony MacDonnell remarked, "I, who have to work the police, look forward with great pleasure (!) to this Arcadia." Therefore I say that the premises upon which the "migratory clauses" are to be founded will need the most searching examination before the Bill is placed upon the Statute Book.

It is, indeed, a topsy-turvy situation; the Ministry of All the Talents exercises its combined ingenuity to secure a verdict before the evidence has been presented to the jury; it embodies its premature judgment in an Act of Parliament after free discussion has been freely closed, and it declares that the House of Lords—the last refuge of free speech—must sooner or later acquiesce in this ridiculous procedure, which, Lords or no Lords, must become the law of the land "within the limits of a single Parliament." Well, in the language of Mr. Micawber, we must wait and see.

LIFE IN IRELAND.

A Diary of Outrages under Radical Rule.

"The condition of Ireland as a whole was very satisfactory."—Prime Minister, House of Commons, May 15.

"It is the duty of the people of Ireland to take the ordinary steps to protect their own property."—Chief Secretary, House of Commons, June 12.

"In our opinion the driving of cattle cannot, of itself, be considered a crime of a very serious nature."—Lord Denman, speaking for the Government, House of Lords, June 4.

[The following entries are confined to those outrages, &c., which have been admitted by Mr. Birrell since May 1, in reply to questions in the House of Commons.

The date at the end of each entry is the date of Mr. Birrell's answer in the House of Commons.]

March 13—Athenry, Co. Galway.—House of Mr. Tierney **fired into.** *May 13.*

March 15—Colmanstown House, Co. Galway, **fired into.** *May 13.*

March 21—Michael O'Connor **fired at** from behind a wall and wounded. *May 13.*

March 23—Scariff, Co. Clare.—House of a farmer named John Carroll **fired into.** *May 13.*

March 25—Upperlands, Co. Derry.—Mr. Tomb's house **wrecked.** *May 1.*

April 8—Ballintubber, Co. Roscommon.—**Intimidatory meeting** held on Mr. Payne's farm at Fohenagh. *May 1.*

April 14—Elphin, Co. Roscommon.—**2,500 people** and five bands march out from Elphin to demonstrate against the grazing system. *May 1.*

April 21—Newmarket-on-Fergus, Co. Clare.—House occupied by Boland, the caretaker of an evicted farm, **fired into.** *May 15.*

April 21—Ballintubber, Co. Roscommon.—Meeting held near Mr. Payne's farm at Fohenagh. **40 police present** to prevent incursion on farm. *May 1.*

April 22—Oranmore, Co. Galway.—House of Patrick Burke **fired into.** *May 2.*

April 24—Brosna, Co. Kerry.—House on a farm held by Mr. Forde **attacked** by a party of men, armed and disguised, who fired several shots into the dwelling. *May 2 and 13.*

April 25—Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim.—Police prevent contingents of Nationalists, with bands, entering town, as police believed

they intended to intimidate graziers. The crowd resisted and disturbances took place. *April 29.*

[At the time of the riot the Congested Districts Commission were holding a sitting in Carrick; and Lord Dudley and other Commissioners were spectators of the riot.]

April 27—Killarney.—Lord Kenmare's bailiff attacked. *May 1.*

April 29—Loughrea, Co. Galway.—Crowd clear farms of cattle at Earl's Park, Ballinlawless, and Tullyhill, driving the cattle on to the public road. **Police driven off, assaulted and wounded.** *May 15.*

April 30—Cuskeydally.—Cattle and sheep of Patrick Raftery **driven off** his farm and scattered among the bogs and roads of the neighbourhood. *May 15.*

April 30—Roscrea, Co. Tipperary.—Mr. Luttrell's cattle **driven off** his farm at Roscomroe to the town of Roscrea. *May 8.*

[Four times were certain persons brought before the local magistrates; on three occasions the case was adjourned, the magistrates being equally divided; on the fourth occasion a majority of the magistrates dismissed the case.]

May 1—Kildysart, Co. Clare.—A rick of hay **destroyed** by fire. *May 29.*

May 1—Ballinmore Bridge.—Cattle **driven off** Muckland Farm by a crowd of men. *May 16.*

May 1—Mr. Cherry (for Mr. Birrell) states that on this date **245 grazing farms were under police protection.**

May 1—Clooniskert, Co. Roscommon.—Mr. Batty O'Brien's cattle **driven off** his farm. *May 15.*

May 1—Athenry, Co. Galway.—Crowds assemble to **drive cattle off** Caheroyan farm, but are prevented by a large force of police. *May 15.*

[The tenants on this farm have been receiving the attention of the Athenry Town Tenants' League. In the June issue of "Irish Facts" (page 89) was published a copy of a circular letter to the tenants on this farm demanding the withdrawal of the cattle, and threatening them that if they failed to remove their stock, "a body of fifty men have been enrolled for the purpose of clearing the lands if it should be found necessary to do so."

The tenants have all surrendered to the demands of the League.]

May 5—Kilmore, Co. Roscommon.—Two hundred persons hold an intimidatory demonstration against Mr. Samuel Russell. **30 police present.** *May 15.*

May 6—Castlefrench, Co. Galway.—Mr. John Burns's farm **cleared of cattle** by adjoining tenants. *May 16.*

May 7—Ballyforan, Co. Galway.—**Fifty police protect farmers** of Mucklon who were putting the stock back on farm raided some days previous. *May 16.*

May 9—Loughrea, Co. Galway.—The houses of Thomas Glynn, Michael Egan, and George Earkins **raided and searched** for arms by men with masked faces. *May 29.*

May 9—Athenry, Co. Galway.—Seven farms on the Lambert Minor's estate **cleared of stock.** *May 16.*

May 10—Ballintubber, Co. Roscommon.—Mr. Payne's cattle attacked and **driven off** his farm. *May 23.*

[In the crowd at this outrage were 75 men in the employment of the Congested Districts Board; and about 30 employed by the Estates Commissioners.—*June 3; June 12.*]

May 13—Four Mile House, Co. Roscommon.—A crowd attempt to intimidate Mr. Owen, a farmer. They are dispersed by the police. **Stones thrown** at the police when returning from duty. *May 30.*

[This is the official account. The Nationalist story is more dramatic. According to the "Roscommon Herald" (May 18) :—

"On the return journey the defenceless, small crowd were unexpectedly and savagely set upon by a huge force of police. Birrell's baton men numbered close on 100. . . The entire force of police drew batons and used them mercilessly, not even sparing innocent little boys. . . Between 25 and 30 civilians were injured and wounded, some seriously, especially in two cases, one that of a young boy of twelve or thirteen years of age, who was cowardly assaulted."

We give this extract as an illustration of the prevailing opinion in the district.]

May 15—Athenry, Co. Galway.—The house of Thomas Duddy **fired into**. *May 29.*

[It is a significant fact that Mr. Duddy had a month previously driven the police on his car.]

May 15—Mr. Birrell, replying to a question by Mr. Arkwright, states that:—"Eighty-one policemen are occupied in affording protection to occupiers of grazing farms in counties of Galway, Mayo, and Roscommon. In addition, some **400 police** secure the stock on the farms from molestation."

May 15—Athenry, Co. Galway.—Mr Birrell states that the **police force** in the Athenry district has been **doubled**, and that the whole question of police arrangements in the Riding is under consideration.

May 17—Shrole, Co. Roscommon.—Mr. Justice Ross, hearing a case in connection with a cattle driving raid on a farm in this district, said that a **widespread and audacious conspiracy** is at present rampant in the West of Ireland, which on ordinary moral grounds amounted to highway robbery.

May 18—Roscrea, Tipperary.—Mr. Luttrell's cattle **driven off** for a second time. *May 29.*

May 22—Roscrea, Tipperary.—A district inspector and 25 men encamped on Mr. Luttrell's farm at Roscomroe, Roscrea, from this date until Mr. Luttrell announced his intention of surrendering the farm. *May 29 ; June 11.*

May 23—Broadford, Co. Clare.—House of Daniel Malony **fired into**. *June 5.*

May 25.—During the month ended May 25, 20 cases of cattle driving occurred ; during the same period six police officers and 280 men were drafted into Connaught. *May 29.*

May 26—Muckenagh, Co. Clare.—A portion of the tail of a cow, the property of Matthew Farrell, **maliciously cut off**. *June 11.*

May 27—Thomastown.—The cattle **driven off** three farms on the Ryan Estate. *June 6.*

[In this district some of the shopkeepers have refused to supply the police with goods, so bitter is the feeling.]

May 28—Athenry, Co. Galway.—One hundred persons join in **driving** the cattle from Mr. Palmer's farm. *June 12.*

May 28—Athenry, Co. Galway.—One hundred persons **drive** sheep off Mr. Persse's farm. *June 12.*

[The significance to be attached to this incident is to be seen in the fact that Mr. Persse is a J.P., and was on the bench when the defendants in a certain cattle driving case were returned for trial. In this way do Irish magistrates suffer for doing their duty. Mr. Persse's farm has been raided three times.]

May 29—Mr. Birrell, replying to a question respecting Mr. Justice Ross's statement (see May 17), admits that "**it is the fact** that cattle have been driven off farms in a number of individual cases."

May 30—Mr. Birrell admits that into certain areas of Ireland **additional police** to the number of **292** have been drafted.

May 30—Burke Estate, Co. Galway.—Cattle **driven off** the holding of a small farmer called Donnelly. Four policemen present, but helpless to prevent the outrage. *June 12.*

[Donnelly has now surrendered to the agitators' demands. The other tenants on the estate gave up at the first threat of intimidation. Donnelly held on, and only after three attacks on his stock and holding did he succumb to terrorism.]

May 31—Banagher, King's County.—Mr. Byrne's cattle **driven off** his farm. *June 6.*

May 31—Abbeyfeale, Co. Limerick.—Kane, a shop attendant, **assaulted**. *June 3.*

June 2—Kiltulla, Co. Galway.—Farms of Mr. Shawe Taylor and five other persons **raided** and the cattle driven off. *June 12.*

June 2—Loughrea, Co. Galway.—Sheep and cattle belonging to Mr. Bowes **driven off** the farm. *June 12.*

June 3—Benmore, Co. Galway.—Sheep and cattle **driven off** farm of Mr. Corcoran. *June 12.*

June 3—Kilnaboy, Co. Clare.—Mr. Birrell, replying to Mr. W. Redmond, says that 12 persons in the parish are under protection; that the protection is considered necessary because "the locality is **not** at present in a **peaceable condition**." *June 3.*

June 3—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman admits that an average of **200 persons** have been **under special police protection** in Ireland during the past twelve months.

June 12—Mr. Birrell admits that **several cases of driving cattle off** grazing farms have occurred in East Galway, and that with one exception the holders of grass farms on Sir Henry Burke's estate have surrendered.

June 12—Roscommon.—Mr. Birrell states that the police force has been strengthened by the **addition of 135 men**.

June 5—Athenry, Co. Galway.—Mr. Birrell admits that this district "**is not in a satisfactory condition**."

June 5—Loughrea, Co. Galway.—Mr. Birrell admits that "this is one of the districts in the West of Ireland the condition of which is **not satisfactory**."

June 8—Riverville, Co. Galway.—Police patrol **fired on**. *June 18.*

June 8—Craughwell, Co. Galway.—Several shots **fired into** the house of Mr. Keary. *June 18.*

June 8—Athenry, Co. Galway.—The farm at Gurrancoye **raided**, and the cattle **driven off**. *June 18.*

June 8—Loughrea, Co. Galway.—The farm of Mr. Kennedy at Carrowcreerenagh raided, and his cattle driven off. *June 19.*

June 8—Loughrea, Co. Galway.—The farm of Mr. Sammons at Clooney Castle **raided**, and his stock driven off. *June 19.*

June 8—Loughrea, Co. Galway.—The farm of Mr. Coomer, at Marble Hill **raided**, and his stock driven off. *June 19.*

June 14—Roxburgh, Co. Galway.—Crowd **raid** Mr. Blake's farm and drive the cattle off. *June 20.*

June 14—Roxburgh, Co. Galway.—Col. Courtenay's farm **raided**, and cattle driven off. *June 20.*

June 17—Derrinlough, Birr, King's County.—Mr. Parkinson's cattle **driven off** his farm.

Abbeyleix, Queen's County.—Three persons, Dunne, Jackson and Draper, who have grazing lands, **boycotted**. *May 7.*

Kilbogin.—Frank M'Auliffe **shot at and severely wounded**. *May 13.*

Rinneen, Co. Clare.—John Murphy, who holds part of a grazing farm, **fired at** from behind a fence and seriously wounded. *May 15.*

Birr.—The gates of Mr. Corboy's farm broken, and his cattle found straying. *May 30.*

IRISH DIARY.

1907.

June 1.—"Times."—Letter from Mr. Gerald Arbuthnot on the state of Ireland.

June 3.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Statement by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman on the business of the Session, including the fate of the Irish Council Bill and other measures. Speeches by Mr. Balfour and Mr. John Redmond.

June 4.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Debate on the state of Ireland. Speeches by Marquis of Londonderry, Lord Clonbrock, Lord Denman, Earl of Mayo, Lord Barrymore, Lord Dunboyne.

June 5.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Debate on the state of Ireland (*continued*). Speeches by Viscount Hill, Earl of Donoughmore, Earl of Crewe, Lord Ashbourne, Lord Oranmore and Browne, Marquis of Ripon, Marquis of Lansdowne.

June 6.—Mr. Redmond at the Oxford Union on Home Rule.

June 8.—"Times."—Letter from Prof. Dicey on the Irish Council Bill.

June 11.—Meeting of the Irish Nationalist Parliamentary Party held at Westminster.

June 13.—Meeting at the Queen's Hall to protest against the Government's Irish policy. Speeches by Mr. Balfour, Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Long, Lord Londonderry, Sir Edward Carson, Earl Percy, and Mr. Richard Bagwell. (See page 142.)

June 14.—Irish County Councils General Council. Special Meeting. Land Act finance considered.

June 17.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Irish Land Act. Speeches by Earl of Donoughmore, Lord Denman, Lord Ashbourne, Lord Barrymore.

June 20.—By-election: NORTH MONAGHAN:—

Mr. Lardner (N) returned unopposed.

Meeting of the National Directory, Mr. Redmond presiding. See page 129.

June 23.—Mr. Redmond at New Ross.

June 24.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Measures of Defence of Stock on Farms. Speeches by Earl of Arran, Lord Denman, Lord Clonbrock, Earl of Donoughmore, Lord Ashbourne, Lord Loreburn, Earl of Crewe, and Lord Londonderry.

June 27.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Estates Commissioners and Intimidation. Speeches by Earl of Donoughmore and Earl of Crewe.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Evicted Tenants Bill introduced. Speeches by Mr. Birrell and Mr. Long.

“Times.”—Letter on Evicted Tenants from Mr. Ian Malcolm.

June 28.—Lord Lansdowne at the Liberal Union Club.

June 30.—Mr. Redmond at Jarrow.

IRISH FACTS.

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[AUGUST, 1907.]

CURRENT NOTES.

Under Police Protection.

In reply to Mr. Lonsdale (July 8), Mr. Birrell gave the following statistics, which are valuable as illustrating the disturbed condition of many parts of Ireland under Radical rule :—

1. Fifty persons are under constant police protection by 123 constabulary.
2. One hundred and sixty-five persons are under patrol protection
3. One district inspector, three head constables, and 310 men, over and above the ordinary force, are on duty in the disturbed districts, being drafted from other counties or sent from the reserve.

Arrests for Agrarian Offences.

Mr. Birrell, replying to Sir Gilbert Parker (July 3), said that between June 1, 1906, and June 1, 1907, there had been 271 cases of agrarian outrage. In 29 of these cases arrests had been made, the number of persons arrested being 121. In six other cases proceedings by summons were taken against 31 persons.

It thus appears that in no less than 236 out of 271 cases have the offenders escaped scot free !

Persons under Special Police Protection.

In the House of Commons on July 22, in reply to a question asked by Mr. Lonsdale, the Chief Secretary furnished the following information with regard to the number of persons under constant protection, and protection by patrol, giving a series of periods :—

Period ending	Constant.	By Patrol.
January 31, 1906	41	167
June 30, 1906	44	158
December 31, 1906	55	150
January 31, 1907	46	150
February 28, 1907	47	153
March 31, 1907	47	144
April 30, 1907	46	154
May 31, 1907	47	163
June 30, 1907	50	167

Agrarian Outrages.

In the House of Commons on July 25, in reply to a question by Mr. Lonsdale, the Chief Secretary gave the following particulars with respect to agrarian outrages in which fire-arms were used:—

1906.

March quarter	..	..	..	7
June quarter	..	..	..	4
September quarter	..	..	..	6
December quarter..	..	..	..	5

1907.

March quarter	..	..	..	13
June quarter	..	..	..	22

Cattle-maiming Outrage.

In reply to a question by Captain Craig (House of Commons, July 24), Mr. Birrell acknowledged that it was the fact that a valuable three-year-old cow, the property of Mr. Edward Godfrey, of Donemark, the local bailiff on the Kenmare estate, was killed and mutilated while grazing on the lands of Ardnagoshel, belonging to Mr. Hutchins, J.P.

The perpetrators of this horrible outrage have not been discovered.

Unpunished Crimes.

The Government have failed lamentably to punish outrage and disorder. On June 19, Mr. Pike Pease drew attention to a number of cases previously brought under the notice of the Chief Secretary, and asked whether any arrests had yet been made. As will be seen from the following list, the cases were by no means trivial, and yet in not one single instance have the Government succeeded in bringing the perpetrators to justice:—

December, 1906.—Assault and robbery of a postman at Ballinagree, near Macroom.

1907.

February 8.—Firing into Mrs. Ryan's house at Craughwell.

February 19.—Assault upon two rural postmen in the Ballinagleragh district.

March.—Issue of a threatening notice to Mr. Burns on Ryan's estate, Co. Galway, purporting to come from the Mullagh branch of the United Irish League.

March 8.—The destruction of property belonging to Mr. Raftery, at Knockrow, Kilchreest.

March 13.—Firing into the house of Mr. Tierney, near Athenry.

March 17.—Firing into Colmanstown House.

March 18.—Robbery committed against a postman at Inchigeela.

March 21.—Firing at and wounding of Mr. O'Connor.

April 21.—Attack with firearms upon the house of Mr. Boland, near Newmarket-on-Fergus.

April 24.—Moonlighting affray at Mr. Ford's house, near Brosna.

April 27.—Firing into the house of Patrick Burke, at Oranmore.

April 30.—Dispersal of Mr. Raftery's stock from Cuskeydally Farm.

April.—Unlawful wounding of Mr. John Murphy, of Rineen.

May 9.—The moonlighting attack upon the houses of Messrs. Glynn, Egan, and Earkins, in Coorheen.

May 15.—The firing into the house of Thomas Duddy, at Athenry.

May.—The destruction of property and dispersal of stock belonging to Mr. Corboy, of Birr.

Brady Case again.

For the third time the men concerned in the attacks on two little boys of 11 and 16, sons of a boycotted person named Brady, were tried on July 5. The offence took place as far back as July, 1906. But at the Sligo Winter Assizes, and at the Leitrim Spring Assizes, the jury disagreed.

As regards the guilt of the prisoners, the Attorney-General, who prosecuted in person, said :—

“ When they heard the evidence, which was perfectly plain and clear, they could not have any doubt as to the guilt of the prisoners.”

The offence was despicably cowardly. These two little boys set out with their donkey and a cart, early in the morning, with an escort of police, on a weary 20-mile journey to get the household necessities. So rigorous was the boycott that the goods could only be got at this distant town. They got their goods and started for home, protected by seven constables. “ It was,” said Mr. Cherry, the Attorney-General, “ more like the march of an army in a hostile country than what anyone would expect to witness in a peaceful and civilised country, and all against two poor boys, and in a time presumably of perfect peace.” Meanwhile a force of 600 people had collected, “ manifestly for the purpose of attacking these two wretched boys,” said the Attorney-General. They surrounded the cart, attacked the donkey, ripped open the bag of meal, and scattered the food. Finally, these 600 brave Irish Nationalists wound up by stoning and violently attacking the two children.

The Attorney-General concluded his speech by telling the jury that “ the responsibility of maintaining law was thrown upon the jury, and he appealed to them to do their duty. It would be for the jury to say were they going to tolerate such a state of things in their country.”

The jury disagreed, notwithstanding the eloquence of the Attorney-General. The weary mockery of justice and respect for the law is to be gone through for the fourth time at the next Assizes for Leitrim.

Let us hope that the Attorney-General’s experience will convince him and the Chief Secretary that there is need for a strong hand if law and order are to be maintained.

A further charge against persons for assaulting members of the Brady family was heard by Mr. Justice Wright at the Leitrim Assizes on July 5.

The verdict was “ not guilty,” notwithstanding that his Lordship appealed to the jury to do their duty as custodians of the peace of the county. The verdict moved his Lordship to remark that Leitrim was “ a nice county to live in!”

The Raiders get off.

Replying to a question in the House of Commons on July 1, the Solicitor-General said that the Attorney-General had decided not to take any further action in the case of the 16 Roscrea raiders, who were

four times before the local bench. and on the last occasion the majority of the magistrates refused informations.

The Government's excuse for encouraging lawlessness is that eight out of the sixteen men concerned have been returned for trial at the Assizes on a similar charge.

The other eight offenders are to be congratulated on the law-breaking propensities of their colleagues. Apparently the Government argue that the more lawlessness there is in a country, the less need there is to prosecute offenders.

Mr. Peter Kelly, J.P., gets off.

The case against Mr. Peter Kelly, J.P., of inciting his hearers at a meeting at New Inn to murder Lord Ashtown, was tried at the Galway Assizes with the usual result. Notwithstanding the eloquence of the Solicitor-General, and the moral influence attached to so high a Law Officer of the Crown himself conducting the prosecution, Mr. Kelly was triumphantly acquitted.

The recent tour of the Law Officers round the Assize Courts has been responsible for numerous adjournments, disagreements, and acquittals, and, we think, two or three convictions. How much longer is the farce to continue !

Failure of the Law.

The failure of the ordinary law—in which the Government have such complete confidence—has again been demonstrated by the acquittal of the prisoner in the M'Auliffe shooting case.

The facts were perfectly plain. M'Auliffe's brother was obnoxious as the occupier of a farm from which the accused's brother had been evicted ; no witnesses were called for the defence, and the accused was identified by the two men who were with M'Auliffe at the time.

The responsibility of the Government for the failure of the law is a heavy one.

The Attorney-General rebuffed.

The Attorney-General's tour of the Assizes does not appear to have been crowned with great success. At the Leitrim Assizes he failed to get a verdict in the Brady case. At the Tullamore Assizes he prosecuted in the Thomastown Raid case. On May 27 a crowd of 200 persons, armed with sticks, visited three farms, and violently cleared it of stock. " This," he said, " was the first of a series of prosecutions they had been obliged to undertake in the country for the purpose of stopping this system of cattle-driving. . . He begged and implored of the jury, if they were satisfied on the evidence, and he was sure they would be satisfied, to let no motive of sympathy or fear interfere with their verdict."

It came out in the course of the evidence that two of the graziers had since given up their farms in consequence of letters they had received from the Secretary of the United Irish League, who was one of the defendants.

But all the Attorney-General's eloquence and pleading was wasted. The jury acquitted the defendants on the charge of riotous assembly, and disagreed on the charge of unlawful assembly.

How much longer are the Government going to allow the law to be ignored? Even the presence of the chief law officer of the Crown cannot procure a verdict.

Change of Venue.

The lie is given to Radical and Irish Nationalist assertions of the peaceful condition of Ireland by the fact that at the Roscommon Assizes the Solicitor-General (Mr. Redmond Barry) applied to have the anti-grazing cases from Hill Street and Ballintubber postponed to the next Assizes to enable the Crown to move in the King's Bench for a change of venue.

He made the application on the affidavit of County Inspector O'Connell, who said that owing to the excited feeling aroused by these cases among the class from which the jurors were drawn, and the fact that a defence fund had been started by the county council to assist the prisoners and that local newspapers had supported the anti-grazing movement, it would be impossible to get a fair or impartial trial of the cases in that county. Apart from every other consideration it would be a mercy to the jurors of the county to save them from having to decide a case on which there was such a strong local feeling, and a fairer trial would be obtained if the cases were removed to a calmer atmosphere.

The King's Bench granted the application for a change of venue in these cases, and the venue is to be changed to the City of Dublin on the ground that a fair trial could not be had in Roscommon. What a comment is this on the repeated declarations of Ministers that Ireland is in a peaceful condition, and that the ordinary course of the law could be relied on! And again, at the recent Galway Assizes, the Irish Solicitor-General applied to Mr. Justice Wright for the postponement of the trials of 66 persons, in order to get them transferred, as it was "impossible to be satisfied that a fair trial would take place in Galway."

What further evidence is required of the inconsistency of the Government in its conduct of Irish affairs? In its Parliamentary capacity it boasts of its contentment to rely on the ordinary law; in its legal capacity it betrays an increasing disposition to upset the ordinary course of the law by applications for change of venue!

In former days, this move would have been violently denounced by the Irish Nationalist M.P.'s. So far, however, not a sound has been heard from them. Their silence is more expressive than words of the understanding that exists between them and the Government.

Cattle-Driving Condemned.

The Executive Committee of the Irish Landowners' Convention, at a meeting in Dublin on July 17, passed the following resolution:—

"The Executive Committee of the Irish Landowners' Convention, having had under consideration the present lawless state of certain districts, chiefly, but not exclusively, in the West of Ireland, and believing that this state of things will spread to other districts if not checked, have unanimously passed the following resolution:—

"That the evils likely to result from the lawlessness at present existing in many parts of Ireland are many and serious. Cattle-driving, the use of firearms, and other forms of intimidation are some of the methods successfully adopted to prevent graziers occupying

grazing farms. The Executive Committee desire in the first place to protest most strongly against the inefficient measures hitherto adopted by the Government to suppress lawlessness, and, in support of the first principles of good government and the rights of all law-abiding subjects of the Crown, they call upon the Irish Government to maintain and enforce the law of the land. In the next place, the Committee wish to point out that the results of interference with the lettings of grazing farms will be disastrous to the country at large, as it will destroy the market for young stock in Ireland, on which the new tenant-purchasers as well as existing tenants depend for the disposal of their young cattle. The agitation has also a most injurious effect on those who are the owners or tenants of grazing lands, and is an unjustifiable interference with the rights of property, as has been testified by the judges who have tried some of these cases in various parts of the country. During the month of June at least 36 instances of gross disorder in connection with this movement took place in the West of Ireland.

"Copies of this resolution are to be sent to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary, the Prime Minister, Right Honourable A. J. Balfour, M.P., Right Honourable W. H. Long, M.P., and the Marquis of Lansdowne."

More Advice from Mr. Ginnell, M.P.

Mr. Ginnell, M.P., as the author of the cattle-driving policy, has been down to Westmeath inciting the United Irish Leaguers of Killelagh to adopt this form of outrage.

"He asked who were the people who were best promoting their own and the national interests at the present moment? Let him tell them they were the people in the West of Ireland who were scattering the cattle like chaff before the wind. These were the people who were doing most for themselves and for the national cause. He had been sent by the party and by the Standing Committee of the League to encourage the people wherever they were doing something to help themselves and had courage. It was impossible for anyone to help people who were doing nothing to help themselves. The people of Roscommon and Galway did not want anyone to tell them what to do, and he was bringing them a message of courage, and the assurance that whatever temporary troubles might come upon them they would have the whole war chest at their back. If they had courage there in Westmeath to act like the men in the West, they, too, would have the whole war chest at their back. They in Ireland were not engaged in open war. Straight shooting might be the right policy, but they did not want any crime whatever committed against the laws either of God or man. He meant they had the authority of Lord Denman in the House of Lords that scattering cattle is no crime, provided you do not hough them. They in Westmeath when they saw a ranch on which at one time their ancestors lived, were they so stricken with the cowardly disease of excessive respectability that they would not drive the flock off the land?"

Mr. Birrell excused himself (House of Commons, July 17) for not taking any action against his Nationalist ally on the ground that "no sufficient evidence was forthcoming that the language attributed to the speaker was actually used," and that "the meeting was a small

impromptu one, of no sort of importance." If such language had been used by a Unionist M.P. in England or Scotland, would it have been glossed over in this way? Would not the Radical party have accused him of incitement to crime, and demanded his punishment?

Incitement to Disorder.

The task of inciting Irishmen to disorder is being persistently carried on by Mr. Ginnell, M.P. Speaking at Elphin on July 21, he expressed the hope that:—

"The branches of the League would attack the ranches one by one. . . He hoped that all over the country this accursed system would be attacked without scruple, remorse, or cessation, until all the land was broken up and planted upon."—"Irish Times," July 22.

Mr. Reddy, M.P., on the same day addressed a meeting at Kilchreest, Co. Galway, on the estate of Captain W. A. Persse. He said:—

"Let them take Persse and tell him he must go and when he had cleared out the air would be purer without his foul presence. . . If they did their duty they would make County Galway as hot as the lower regions for such a man, who was an enemy of the people."—"Irish Times," July 22.

Life in Roscommon.

An interesting light is thrown on the condition of Roscommon under Radical rule by a letter in the "Irish Times" of July 17 from Canon Ford, the Protestant Rector of Castlerea. He writes as follows:—

"SIR,—Will you allow me through the medium of your columns to draw attention to a personal matter which illustrates, if illustration is needed, the state of utter lawlessness prevailing in this country. I am not a politician, but merely a clergyman of the Church of Ireland, and I am glad to say that I have hitherto found the people of this country most kind, friendly, and respectful. Furthermore, I have in various ways taken a humble part in the furtherance of various economic projects for the well-being of the people, and have found that the people of all ranks, and of a creed different from what I profess, respect and trust me.

"You may, therefore, believe that it was with much astonishment I found myself on last Friday the object of a hostile demonstration.

"I was on my way to Ballymoe, where I went with two workmen to carry out some improvements in the church grounds at Ballymoe, which is in my parish. When within a mile of the village I noticed a number of men engaged in cutting turf near the road. Immediately I came opposite them they commenced the most terrible hooting, cheering, and shouting, and horn-blowing. I was riding my bicycle, and I passed on without recognising any of them, though I learn that they are from the village of Ballymoe. On my return the demonstration was renewed in an aggravated form, and it must have been heard for a great distance. I never in my life heard anything like it.

"As I passed on towards Castlerea a man, who was working in another part of the bog, not in sight, but, of course, within hearing distance of the demonstrators, came to the road and spoke very

kindly and sympathetically to me, and assured me that the demonstration was not intended for me personally, but for Mr. Payne, of Ballymoe, who is boycotted—meaning that as I am accustomed to stop at Mr. Payne's when I go to Ballymoe, contrary to the decrees of the United Irish League, which is the real law of the land here, I should receive the same treatment Mr. Payne and his family receive.

"I am not a 'carriage crow,' but an ordinary country parson, but I want to be allowed to go about my duty in peace. I know the West of Ireland now for nearly 30 years, and that is the first time I ever was assailed in that way, and treated with open insult.

"It was on the 12th of July, of all days in the year, and I could not help thinking that if a Roman Catholic priest were going about his ordinary duties in the most Orange part of the North on that day, and were treated in a manner similar to the way I was treated, the country would likely hear about it, and quite properly."

The last sentence in Canon Ford's letter is telling. We hope the instructive lesson will not be lost on the Nonconformists of Great Britain.

Life in County Cork.

The monotony of country life cannot be urged as a cause of rural depopulation in County Cork, as the following facts elicited during two trials at the Cork Assizes will show.

A caretaker, named Davidson, was in charge of an evicted farm on the Grehan Estate, Inchigeelah. Living with him for his protection were a sergeant and four constables. On September 16 a meeting was held on the farm, a quarter of a mile from the protection hut. When the meeting was over, 300 people marched to the protection hut, and demanded that the caretaker be handed over to them. They were accompanied by a brass band, and many of the crowd were blowing horns. The police, reinforced to nine men, stood outside the hut with fixed bayonets. Pushing about 30 women to the front, the crowd commenced a desperate attack from behind, and showered stones at the policemen, seriously injuring four of them. The crowd rushed into the yard, and flung stones against the back door of the house, partly demolishing it. Sergeant M'Gillicuddy, who, with two constables, was defending this door, received blows of stones and mud on the face, and was seriously wounded. Believing their lives in great danger, the police retired into the hut, and continued the defence from inside. Loading their carbines with bullets, the police fired twice at the crowd, but hit no one. After continuing the siege for an hour and a half, the crowd retired.

The jury convicted three of the prisoners for unlawful assembly only, and acquitted the rest of the accused!

On April 4, Constables Healy, Tobin, O'Mahony, and Conboy tried to apprehend Jas. and Jeremiah Cotter, warrants for whose arrests had been in the hands of the police since September, 1906. As they approached Cotter's farm a horn was blown, and people began to assemble. James and Jeremiah Cotter, who were in a field, called out to the police that if they came in they would split their heads. The men had stones in their hands. Entering the field the police arrested the two men, who resisted desperately, and were aided by M'Carthy and people who had collected. A *melee* ensued for 15 minutes, in the course of which the police used their batons, and Collins and others wielded sticks. Constable Healy received

wounds on the head which necessitated five weeks' detention in hospital. Constable Conboy was covered with blood from wounds on the head, and Constable Tobin at one stage had to cover his assailants with his revolver and threaten to shoot them if they advanced, as they were making at him with large stones in their hands. In the end the police were driven off, and the prisoners escaped, and were not captured for some days.

The jury acquitted the prisoners !

Life in Leitrim.

Life in Leitrim also would seem to be more exciting than life in the rural counties of Great Britain. An application was granted by the King's Bench on July 17 to serve writs on the Kiernans' estate by post : an attempt to effect personal service resulted in a large crowd chasing the process server away, although he was guarded by police.

The dangerous duty now falls on the postmen, who have been repeatedly set upon and robbed whilst discharging their task of delivering letters believed to contain writs. Let us hope that better protection will be afforded them than has often been the case in the past.

The Holly Park Outrage.

The following letter appeared in "The Times" of July 4:—

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

Sir,—The enclosed letter, written to a friend of mine in England by his sister in Ireland, should prove a mine of information to those members of the Government and others who still choose to believe that Ireland is in a perfectly peaceful and satisfactory condition. I am able to guarantee the absolute *bona fides* of the writer, and I shall feel greatly obliged if you can find space to publish her letter.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. FRANCIS MASON.

House of Commons, July 3.

Holly-park, Craughwell, co. Galway,
June 24, 1907.

Dearest ———,—I am sending you a description of a little experience we had here last night at the hands of the United Irish League. They attacked the house in a body about 11.30 on Sunday night, June 23. Bill and I had just put out the candle and were going to sleep when we heard pop, pop, under our windows and hitting the walls of the house. Then, before we could speak, a perfect storm of bullets came at the house. They came with such *rhur-r-r-r* that it sounded like a Maxim gun. I was all for lighting a candle, but B. stopped me in time, saying perfect darkness is the safest on these occasions, and that I must not make a sound. B. scrambled up in the dark to go and call Helenus, but in the dark the screen fell down, so we did not get out of the room as fast as we might. I rushed in to Sarah and Moira, who were sleeping next door, and found the former rather scared. I cautioned her not to make a sound. Her windows were wide open and shutters not shut. B. found Helenus in the room on beyond Moira's. He had fallen asleep in bed, with his candle lit, and the window wide open. His room was

a wreck, several panes of glass broken, and the floor strewn with broken glass from the window, and also glass from a lot of pictures on the walls. We picked up some stones on the floor quite as big as my closed fist, also a bullet. There was another bullet-hole in the ceiling, and lots of shot marks. The firing was over in about four minutes, and all was still. B. and H. were rushing about the house in the pitch dark, looking for guns for fear of another attack. It was certainly the most curious experience I have ever had; we were all going about the house, up and down stairs, in complete darkness. Poor Mrs. White was sleeping on the ground floor by herself, and, as a general rule, has her windows open and shutters also, but last night she had them closed; but they never fired her side of the house at all, and she was not frightened. It was our side of the house they fired at. We are over the library; the windows are broken in that room, two bullet-holes in shutter, and one bullet found over the mantel-piece. The hall door comes next, under Moira's room; the door is shattered, and there are bullet-holes through the panel of door and also through the shutter inside. One bullet was picked up in the hall, and here the ceiling and plaster cornice were damaged. The drawing-room comes next, under H.'s bed-room; both windows were smashed, also the framework, and more bullets went through the shutters. The curious part was B. and I had no bullet through our shutters, and Moira had none either, though her window was wide open. Anyhow, she would have been safe, as she and nurse have their beds in an alcove quite out of the line of fire. Our bed is also in a very fairly safe place. Moira never woke till the shooting was over, and then she only coughed and went to sleep again, which was very good behaviour. We all got back to bed about 1 o'clock, but did not sleep much. What astonished us most of all was that the police never came near the place all night. The public road is only a quarter of a mile from the house, and there is always a patrol; besides, the attack must have been heard two miles distant. Early this morning B. and H. went to fetch the police, and we have had four here to-day. Not a word about arrests or anything like that. The district inspector came at lunch-time.

Seven bullets have been picked up in the house (rifle and revolver); three gunshots have also been located, besides any amount of shot marks from bullets outside the house. They say we shall have no more firing; they never repeat this; it will be something else next week.

Your affec. sister,
F. WHITE.

I have this morning received the following letter from Mrs. White, who is visiting her brother-in-law, Mr. Blake, whose house was the object of the foregoing outrage.—J. F. M.

Holly-park, Craughwell, co. Galway,
July 1, 1907.

Dear Mr. Mason,—Since the shooting outrage on this house nothing has happened (save that the baker at Athenry has refused to serve the establishment with bread) until this morning, when the indoor and outdoor servants received threatening letters, signed "Rory," ordering them to give up their situations or they would

be served as others were. The coachman got 24 hours' notice, or he would be shot as John Blake's coachman was shot. (This happened 25 years ago.) John Blake, of Rathville, was Lord Clanricarde's agent. He and his coachman were shot dead, and Mrs. Blake was wounded.

My husband's brother, Mr. Blake, also received a threatening notice this morning, ordering him to give up the farm within a week or he would be served as John Blake was served, no matter how many "peelers" he had minding him.

My husband and I have come over from England on a visit.

Yours sincerely,

FLORENCE WHITE.

A Minister's Discretion.

At the sitting of the Congested Districts Board Commission in Bantry on July 13, at which Lord Dudley presided, Mr. Frederick A. B. Turner, J.P., a small landed proprietor and a large land agent, was examined, and in the course of his evidence endeavoured to explain why capital did not come into the country. As an instance, he said that he had a lovely property for sale with a splendid house on it. One of the leading members of the present Government came over to look at it and said to him that he would love to buy it if it were not for the disturbed condition of Ireland.

BISHOP O'DONNELL: Is he a Cabinet Minister anxious to escape from the discharge of his duties to this country?

The WITNESS: I believe he is a Cabinet Minister.

MR. CONOR O'KELLY, M.P.: Although he is a member of the Government responsible for socialistic legislation, he would not buy it?

The WITNESS: He says that if he purchased it a compulsory Act might come in, and he would be obliged to give it up.

MR. CONOR O'KELLY: Yet he as a member of the present Government has voted for compulsory purchase?

The WITNESS: I don't think compulsion has come before the House of Lords.

MR. CONOR O'KELLY: Then although the Liberals have voted for compulsion yet the moment it comes home to this member's own house he shrinks from it?

The WITNESS: Yes, he shrank from it so far that he declined to buy the property.

Misplaced Confidence.

Mr. Thomas Curley, of Shrah Farm, Knockcroghery, Co. Roscommon, is sorry now that he openly expressed his confidence in the Nationalist party.

On May 1 his cattle were driven off his farms. When the case came on for trial on July 10, Mr. Curley swore that none of the defendants would do him an injury, and the case was dismissed.

Some hours later the gate on the farm was smashed to pieces, and Mr. Curley has been spending his time in scouring the country looking for his stock.

It is probable that Mr. Curley's views of the good feelings his neighbours entertain towards him have undergone a violent change.

What Boycotting means.

Farmers in Great Britain who want to know what it means to live in Ireland under Radical rule can find a useful illustration at Drumkeeran, in Co. Leitrim. In that district two persons are so fiercely boycotted that they have to go twelve miles to get their horses shod, twenty miles to obtain provisions, and twenty-four miles to dispose of their stock.

These facts were extracted from Mr. Cherry, the Irish Attorney-General, in the House of Commons on July 11th.

What an outcry there would be in Great Britain if two farmers were treated in this way. How the Radical Press would shower sympathy on the victims of this cruel persecution; but it has none to spare for Irish sufferers under the tyranny of Mr. Redmond's League.

Mr. Birrell responsible.

By a majority the magistrates at Athenry, on June 21, dismissed the case against certain persons for illegal assembly and cattle driving on Mr. Persse's farm at Boyhill on June 9. The charge was not denied against seven of the defendants who drove out the stock, but their advocate, Mr. Concannon, brought in Mr. Birrell in justification of their action. He said:—

"One could not help seeing that the person responsible for the government of the country, the Chief Secretary himself, said that the people in charge of the stock on the lands where these things had gone on ought to do something to protect their own property, and yet the Bench were asked to return the defendants for trial when the owner had not made an attempt to protect the stock."—"Irish Times," June 22.

Mr. Birrell's chickens are coming home to roost.

The Lord Chief Justice on Disorder.

The Lord Chief Justice, addressing the Grand Jury at the South Tipperary Assizes, said:—

"... The two excepted districts I refer to are the districts of Killenaule and Cashel. These, gentlemen, so far from being in a very satisfactory state, appear to me to be in a pre-eminently unsatisfactory state. **The number of cases of constant police protection have increased.** In Killenaule there are two families under police protection—constant police protection. What does this involve? That police are obliged to sleep in the houses of the persons protected—three police in each case, to shield them against outrage. It is a very serious factor in relation to the peace of the district. I don't think they appreciate at all in other places—not in Ireland, but in England—what that means. **In England they do not at all understand what constant police protection means**—that is to say, policemen sleeping in the house of certain individuals to protect them against outrage. In the police district of Cashel there is one man constantly protected. . . There is also boycotting going on in these districts. . . With reference to the police, I think they are doing their utmost in these two districts to which I have referred to preserve order and protect people from outrage."—"Irish Times," July 9.

Addressing the Grand Jury at the Assizes for the North Riding of Tipperary, the Lord Chief Justice said :—

“ I fear, gentlemen, there is some substantial ground for apprehending that that open and undisguised form of lawlessness known as cattle-driving is making its way into the North Riding of Tipperary. It is the more infectious and the more dangerous because it is openly defiant of the law.”—“ Irish Times,” July 2.

Mr. Justice Wright in Leitrim.

Mr. Justice Wright at the Leitrim Assizes on July 4 said :—

“ There are three families in the county wholly boycotted—three families, consisting of fourteen persons wholly boycotted, which meant that no man would speak to the boycotted person, or any person in his house ; no one would deal with him or sell to him ; no one would work for him, and he was cut off from all intercourse with the human race. There are seven families, consisting of 22 persons, partially boycotted. . . There are four families protected by patrol. . . In Bernacoola it is impossible to serve writs or processes, and under these circumstances it was found necessary to apply to the Court for an order giving liberty to serve writs by registered letters. Then the letter carriers of the Post Office required in some cases to be protected by the police. In some cases threatening notices had been posted up. . . He could not say that the county as a whole was in a satisfactory condition.”—“ Irish Times,” July 5.

“Lawlessness rampant and defiant.”

Mr. Justice Wright's address to the Grand Jury, Roscommon :—

“ . . . Cattle driving was a movement which, in his opinion, was **absolutely lawless** and subversive of the rights of property. The movement appeared to have spread through many of the counties in the West of Ireland, and had attained a strength which was a formidable menace to the public peace. The police had apparently so far been unable to check it, but if the movement was not grappled with vigorously it would land that part of the country in a **state of anarchy**, as it struck at the foundation of law and order. . .

“ In one case the cattle on the farm of Robert Payne were driven off in the presence of a body of police, who were unable to prevent it. The raiders were prosecuted before the magistrates, who by a majority refused information ; but the Crown realising the gravity of the case had themselves sent up Bills.

“ As to the county itself, it was in anything but a satisfactory state. **Numerous persons were under police protection** simply because they had the temerity to meddle with an evicted farm. One of the two gentlemen who were protected by a police patrol was Mr. George Kelly, a member of the Irish Bar, and of the Connaught Circuit, who was partly boycotted, his sin being that he had been one of the majority of magistrates at Hill Street who had ordered the eight defendants to give bail or go to gaol for cattle raiding. A woman who was a small shopkeeper had been threatened with the loss of her trade if she continued to supply the police with food or groceries. Concluding, his Lordship said that it appeared that

at present **lawlessness was actually rampant and defiant**, and there was no sign of improvement in the immediate future.”—“Morning Post,” July 13.

“A state of absolute lawlessness.”

In his charge to the Grand Jury at the County Galway Summer Assizes Mr. Justice Wright said :—

“ . . . The report of the County Inspector and those who collected information with him was before him, and he would call attention to, and contrast the state of the East Riding on the present occasion with what it was during the same period last year. He found that last year the number of **specialty reported cases** was **26** ; on the present occasion the number had swelled to **63**. There was something more than accident or chance in that. There must be something in that to show that there was a lawless spirit in the Riding. . . .

There were **19 threatening letters** as compared with **8 last year ; firing into dwelling houses 11, none last year ;** going to dwelling houses at night for the purpose of **collecting arms, 6**. . . .

. . . One might find among the threatening letters a notice addressed to a Justice of the Peace warning him not to sit at a particular Petty Sessions Court. The magistrate had taken part in the investigation of one of those unlawful assembly cases. There were notices addressed to persons employed by those who incurred hostility in their neighbourhood. There was one case in which notices were sent to every servant in the employment of Mr. Blake, threatening them, under pains and penalties, to leave his employment. . . . From information laid before him he found that there had been altogether **25 cattle drives** in that Riding, and **51 farms had been cleared** of their cattle. . . . He understood there were **9 persons under constant police protection, and 39 protected by patrol, and last year there were 8 persons under constant protection, and 25 under police patrol**. There were **80 extra police** in the East Riding, but, notwithstanding the increase in their number, in all these cases the police had been unable to resist the successful efforts of those raiders, who drove the cattle off those farms. In the East Riding there were no wholly boycotted persons, and **36 cases of partial boycotting**, more or less severe, and that partial boycotting involved **120 persons**, as compared with **4 cases, in which 11 persons were boycotted 12 months ago**. The house of Mr. Smith, of Gormanstown, was fired into on the night of the 16th of March, and on the night of the 23rd of June Mr. Blake was in his house, and undoubtedly an attack—a serious attack—was made upon it. Mr. Blake was the same gentleman who was the occupier of the grazing, which had been raided on the 8th June, and he was the same gentleman whose servants received the threatening notices on the 1st July. They would not be surprised to hear that Mr. Blake was under police protection. . . .

. . . The facts he had laid before them spoke for themselves. They showed that a considerable part of the East Riding of the County was, and had been for some time past, **in a state of absolute lawlessness**, and that the means to cope with it had proved to be wholly inadequate.”—“Irish Times,” July 23rd.

Mr. Justice Madden on King's County.

At the Tullamore Summer Assizes, Mr. Justice Madden, addressing the Grand Jury with reference to the cattle-driving campaign, said :—

"It is evident, gentlemen, that these crimes are the outcome of a widespread combination which has unhappily found a footing in your county. . . The methods disclosed by the informations laid before me are in open defiance of law, and if they were allowed to succeed would reduce society from a condition of civil government to one of anarchy. The victims of these outrages are carrying on in your county a lawful industry under contracts recognised by the law, and they are entitled to protection from those who are entrusted with its administration. The kind of intimidation brought upon them in order to compel them to give up their means of livelihood at the dictation of the lawless mob is not the fear of personal and physical injury; it is the threat of financial ruin which these men have it in their power unless restrained by the ordinary precautions for the protection of property seem to prove ineffectual."

And he continued :—

"I am sorry to find on the returns before me further evidence of the appearance in your once peaceful county of a spirit of lawlessness. There are several cases of threatening letters, happily not followed up by outrages; but they are of painful significance."—
"Irish Times," July 2, 1907.

"Grave, dangerous, and open violation of the law."

Judge Andrews, addressing the Grand Jury at Maryborough, said :—

"He found that **grave, dangerous and open violation of the law** called cattle driving had made its appearance in the county and was apparently spreading.

"He found that illegal interference with private property had been attempted to be practised, and in some cases successfully practised, at a variety of places in the county. At a place called Timahoe it had been practised, and partly dealt with by the magistrates. It had also been practised at Coolrain and Abbeyleix, and there had been illegality of the same character in the neighbourhood of Abbeyleix. In those circumstances he regretted he was unable to congratulate the Grand Jury on the state of the county or to say more than this, that if the illegality was not suppressed there was a dangerous prospect before them."—"Northern Whig," July 6.

"Disastrous to Prosperity."

Mr. Justice Gibson, addressing the Grand Jury at the Cork Assizes, referring to certain charges of riot and disturbance coming before him, said :—

"The charges which are grave, grave not so much in themselves, but because they indicate a desire to disregard the law in a more or less hardy and defiant character, were three. . . These three cases were serious in this, that though there was no actual loss of life, still there was so much violence upon the occasion that it might have resulted in bloodshed, and this class of crime, if allowed to continue, is disastrous to the administration of the law, as well as to the prosperity of the country."—"Irish Times," July 16.

“Sinn Fein” on the Directory.

The resolutions passed by the National Directory have only moved the “Sinn Fein” party to blasphemy. A meeting of the National Council Executive unanimously adopted resolutions repudiating the Redmond policy, and pointing out that “the so-called ‘Forward Policy’ adopted by the Directory of the United Irish League in face of the betrayal of Home Rule by the British Liberal Government, amounts to nothing more than re-echoing resolutions passed on innumerable occasions, and shows no intention whatever to substitute action for declamation.”

In “Sinn Fein” (June 29), the weekly organ of the “Sinn Fein” Party, the following definitions are given of Mr. Redmond’s policy:—

It is **NOT** :—

(1) “To withdraw the Irish Members from Westminster, but to withdraw the Irish demand for a sovereign Parliament.”

(2) Nor “to seek even a subordinate legislature for Ireland at the present time, but to treat the matter as a pious aspiration, not one of practical politics.”

(3) Nor “to condemn the present Government for its maintenance of an overcharge of at least £3,000,000 on Ireland, and not to demand a separate Irish Exchequer.”

(4) Nor “to boycott Britain and British goods.”

IT IS :—

“To hold public meetings, support the English Liberals in their contest with the English House of Lords, pass resolutions, and seek further supplies of money to maintain eighty men in Westminster from the Irish people in Australia and America.”

An Important Admission.

The following description of the United Irish League is given by Mr. A. J. Kettle, one of the treasurers of that organisation, and, therefore, in a position to speak with authority on the subject. Writing to the “Freeman’s Journal” (July 18), Mr. Kettle says:—

“Let us just quietly examine the composition of the United Irish League. On its roll of membership there are no landlords or ex-landlords, few merchants, fewer Irish manufacturers. There are few of the men who are managing the business of Ireland in city or town connected with the League. The Bankers who regulate our finances, the railway or transit men who control our trade, internal and external, even the leading cattle men who handle most of our animal produce, are not to be found in its ranks.”

This is an important admission of the unrepresentative character of the League, and coming, as it does, from an official no one dare question its accuracy.

Yet the Government humbly obey the orders of this unrepresentative League and withdrew their principal legislative measure of the Session because the League did not approve of it!

Mr. Redmond's Difficulties.

The Irish Nationalists are passing through one of their periodic eruptions. Mr. Redmond's condemnation in a Battersea school-room of the "Sinn Fein" policy was followed by the defection of Sir Thomas Esmonde, M.P., the Nationalist Whip, who, like Mr. Dolan, M.P., North Leitrim, has been convinced that "Parliamentary agitation as now conducted has spent its force." Sir Thomas Esmonde's conversion was made public in a letter to a "Sinn Fein" meeting at Enniscorthy on July 21.

In the country the revolt against Mr. Redmond is growing. At a meeting of the North Kilkenny Executive of the United Irish League, a resolution recommending Mr. Redmond to adopt "more stringent and determined measures" was passed unanimously.

Unionists in Great Britain will watch the indications of a change of opinion in Ireland with interest. Apparently, there are Irish Nationalists as disgusted with the Nationalist understanding with the Government as are many British electors.

The House of Lords justified.

There is one paragraph in Sir Thomas Esmonde's letter which will be read with interest, in view of the Radical attack on the House of Lords. He writes:—

"The present English Government are unable to establish a subordinate Legislature in Ireland, either by Act of the English Parliament or by Letters Patent—and why? Because they know that the English House of Lords represents the feeling of the English people towards Ireland more truly than does the English House of Commons."

A Bishop's Advice.

A spiritual leader of the people of Ireland—the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kilmore—addressing a meeting of the Cavan Branch of the United Irish League, on Sunday, July 7, told his audience to "abuse the Government both in and out of the House of Commons, always and ever, until they grant what you ask. . . . If you would read the history of reforms in Europe you would see that there never was a reformation made, no concession was ever granted to the people, except as the effect of a vigorous, constant agitation. It is great folly for men to stand up in the House of Commons and adduce numberless reasons why we should get a University for Catholics or Home Rule. It is just like the young boys . . . having their debating society."

This is rather a nasty cut at the Irish Parliamentary party, but Mr. Redmond swallows all insults from the Bishops. But the point we wish to draw attention to—and especially the attention of Nonconformists—is that Home Rule means Rome Rule. The power of the Bishops and the priests over the United Irish League is so great that they dictate its policy, and lead its members and their flock along the path of agitation.

His Majesty's Rebels.

Mr. W. Redmond and other Irish Nationalists opposed the proposed grant to Lord Cromer in recognition of his valuable services in

Egypt. Loyal service to the Empire may be sure of receiving the enmity of the Irish Nationalists. Their friends are the Empire's enemies; and they have not changed since that day in the House of Commons when they cheered the defeat of British troops in South Africa. Their real feelings come out upon occasions; yet many Liberals are ready to give them greater powers—to be used as a weapon against Great Britain and the Colonies whenever opportunity offers.

Mr. Redmond at New Ross.

Mr. Redmond's speech at New Ross must have come as a shock to those of the Radical party who have been in league with Nationalist agitators in scheming flank attacks on the integrity of the United Kingdom. We hope that the electors will read the following extracts from Mr. Redmond's speech, and will take steps to make it clear to their representatives that there must be no dealings with the Nationalist forces of disloyalty and disorder.

Said Mr. Redmond:—

"This fight will go on, and we tell her (Great Britain) frankly that the choice of weapons with which we will work will be a more question of expediency with us, because we believe that **we are entitled** in this movement to **use every weapon** which is open to a God-fearing race such as the Irish.

"We tell her that we, to-day, hate her rule just as bitterly as our forefathers did.

"We tell her that we are as much rebels to her rule to-day as our forefathers were in '98."—"Freeman's Journal," June 24.

Mr. Redmond's History.

Mr. Redmond's knowledge of the history of Ireland is evidently not so extensive or accurate as it might be. Referring to his speech at New Ross, the following letter speaks for itself:—

"SIR,—At the unveiling of the '98 Memorial on Sunday last Mr. Redmond said—'Ireland will sink for ever beneath the wave before the day arrives when the principle of Irish nationality will be surrendered by her sons and daughters.' A great deal more in the same strain was uttered with reference to the Union and Ireland's 'alien rulers.' The men of Wexford and New Ross were reminded of the glorious achievements of their forefathers in the struggle for Irish freedom. The deeds of '98 are to be an inspiration for all time.

"I venture to say that most of the great assemblage of Sunday last knew nothing of the deeds of their ancestors in the following year, 1799.

"Did they know that the Roman Catholics of New Ross, headed by their parish priest, the Rev. William Chapman, declared in favour of the Union of 1799?

"Did they know that the Roman Catholics of Wexford at a meeting held on September 22, 1799, with Bishop Caulfield in the chair (the president of Mr. Redmond's meeting was only a C.C.), unanimously adopted a declaration signed by over 3,000 persons, in which they said—'We recollect with abhorrence and detestation the

late unnatural rebellion and the crimes it produced. We look forward with anxious interest to . . . the happy completion of the great and useful measure of a Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, which the common father of his people has, in his wisdom, recommended to the serious consideration of his Parliament.'

"Yours, &c.,

"JOHN ROCHE ARDILL, LL.D.

"June 24, 1907."

Spoils for Leaguers.

A remarkable illustration of the domination of the United Irish League in local government matters comes from King's County. At a special meeting of the King's County Council, held on June 19, appointments were made of inspectors under the Sheep Dipping Orders. For the No. 4 District of Barony of Garrycastle South there were two applicants—Mr. Colclough and Mr. Horan.

Mr. Colclough held the appointment last year, and the Secretary of the County Council acknowledged that he had done his work most efficiently.

Mr. Horan's appointment was advocated on the ground that the local branch of the United Irish League had passed a resolution to the effect that all public appointments should be given to members of that organisation, that Mr. Horan was a life-long Nationalist and a member of the United Irish League, and that it was only right that men who had given their services to the National cause should get these appointments when they applied for them.

Mr. Colclough was also a Nationalist, but unfortunately was not a member of the United Irish League. And membership of the League being a higher qualification than knowledge of one's duties and proved efficiency, Mr. Horan was duly elected to the post!

The attention of Mr. T. W. Russell, the Vice-President of the Board of Agriculture, was drawn to this example of the spoils for Leaguers, on June 27. In reply, he professed the "official" ignorance of the Department as to the grounds for the selection of Mr. Horan, and added that "in the case of temporary appointments of this kind it is not the practice to interfere with the discretion of the appointing authority." After this invitation from the Government, we shall be surprised if the United Irish League do not press the political claims of their members to appointments under local bodies with increased persistency. We are surprised that the Radical and Labour M.P.'s, who claim the monopoly of political honesty, should sit quiet whilst the Government issues invitations to "jobbery," and the filling of local government posts for reasons of political expediency instead of technical ability.

Irish Nationalist Violence.

Mr. Lonsdale, the Unionist M.P. for Mid Armagh, is the particular object of virulence from Irish Nationalist M.P.'s who object to the outrages of the United Irish League being brought to the notice of the British public. On Wednesday last (July 10th) Mr. Lonsdale's efforts in the House were particularly galling to the "patriots," who

endeavoured to silence him by shouts and interruptions. Afterwards in the Lobby Mr. Lonsdale was approached by one of the Nationalists and threatened with personal violence. Mr. Lonsdale contented himself by warning his assailant to be more circumspect unless he wanted to have his conduct brought under Mr. Speaker's notice.

Nationalists must be taught that they cannot practise intimidation and coercion at Westminster, however easy it may be to do so in Ireland through the branches of the United Irish League. Unionists are not likely to be terrorised into abandoning their good work of showing the British public what life is like in Ireland under the rule of the Irish Parliamentary party and the League.

Nationalist Slander Campaign.

The Irish Nationalists are at their old game of misrepresenting the condition of their country. Twice last week they had to be corrected by Mr. Birrell for unfounded statements. Mr. Hugh Law brought accusations of boycotting of the Protestant Rector of Ballyclog, Stewartstown, which, said Mr. Birrell, were "purely imaginary." Mr. Delany put a question to Mr. Birrell alleging that extra police had been put on a farm near Mountrath, Queen's County, which was entirely untrue. The fact was that the local police had been paying more than usual attention to the farm, as they anticipated that some of Mr. Delany's fellow Nationalists were going to favour it with a cattle drive. Mr. Delany found more in Mr. Birrell's reply than he bargained for. Nationalists M.P.'s may possibly be more careful in their "slander campaign" in the future.

Financial Relations.

Mr. Kettle, M.P., who has been busying himself with inquiries to the Treasury as to Ireland's contribution to the tax revenue of the United Kingdom, has had a nasty fall from Mr. Runciman, the Secretary to the Treasury. In a printed answer (June 27) to Mr. Kettle's question, Mr. Runciman points out that if Ireland's tax revenue had been reduced to the one-twentieth of the tax revenue raised in Great Britain, as suggested by the Financial Relations Commission, 1894, the total revenue derived from Ireland in most of the years since 1897-8 would have been **insufficient to cover the cost of Irish services.**

The result would have been, Mr. Runciman says, that on the whole period (1897-1907) Ireland would have contributed **nothing** to Imperial expenditure, to the service of the National Debt, or of the Army and Navy, while the taxpayers of Great Britain would have had to contribute about **£5,000,000** to Irish local expenditure!

Thus another Nationalist "grievance" is exploded.

Nonconformists attacked.

Dr. Massie's speech on the Irish Catholic University debate showed the Government that a powerful section of their followers view concessions to Catholics of Ireland with misgiving. The "Freeman's Journal" has retorted with considerable asperity. It says:—

"Professor Massie's Liberalism is like the tolerance of Cromwell; he would not trouble consciences, but if anybody goes to Mass or is

so benighted as to be a Catholic, then Professor Massie thinks a penal ignorance good enough for him. This is the new evangel of liberty. It will not thrive in these countries ; and if Liberalism were to attempt to practise it in Ireland, then farewell Liberalism."—July 5.

Mr. Birrell is to spend the autumn in arriving at a solution of the Irish University question. The task of reconciling the threats of the Nonconformist followers of the Government with the claims of its Irish Nationalist supporters does not augur well for greater success than has attended Mr. Birrell's other legislative efforts.

AN OPEN LETTER TO IRISH FARMERS.

By a Scottish Farmer.

GENTLEMEN,—

I venture to address you, or those of you who call yourselves Home Rulers, as one who for years past has sympathised with your legitimate aspirations to govern yourselves, and who, in times past, voted for Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill. I want you to understand that I cannot, and why I cannot, support your demands for Home Rule in the future ; and I write to express not only my own intentions, but those of scores of men of my acquaintance in Scotland who hold the same position in life as you and I do.

First of all I wish to say that the blame for losing our Scottish support rests with you and not with us. We anticipated that, when you got full powers of local self-government, you would use your powers for the good of your country. You have not done so, but have, in large numbers of cases, deprived the localities of the services of their best men in order to make places and to gain power for your Roman Catholic co-religionists and for your political friends. Many of us here in Scotland get Irish papers from our friends, and we are both disappointed and surprised to find that most of your local councils are really nothing but branches of the United Irish League, and that every post within their gift is allotted not to the best man available, but to some individual whom you can claim as a fellow Leaguer. This is not what we expected of you ; nor did we, when we voted for the Bill, imagine that you would turn county government into a huge political machine to bring about Separation. Yet you have done this ; and by so doing you have made it plain to all of us that your scheme of Home Rule will include methods of excluding from power and preferment adherents to the Protestant faith and all persons whom we call Irish Loyalists. We in Scotland know perfectly well the assurances of "toleration" which your leaders in Parliament have given from time to time ; but we have good reason to know also that this toleration does not exist in practice. As business men ourselves we note with great regret the class of men whom you choose as

chairmen of your local councils; in many cases the business qualification, which is absolutely necessary, is subordinated, and the post of honour goes to men whose hatred for Britain or whose imprisonment for law-breaking secures for them unanimous election at your hands, whilst you exclude from the councils of your nation the merchants and professional men who have turned Belfast into a city whose prosperity is as remarkable as that of any city in the Empire. Such procedure we think is suicidal, and we cannot support you in it.

You must not forget that Scotland has, if she chooses to exercise it, exactly as much right to agitate for Home Rule and Separation as has Ireland. Scotland was an independent nation once, poor and proud; since she entered the Union with England she has lost none of her pride but most of her poverty. If Ireland really desires to be prosperous, why cannot she follow our example? Our laws are the same, or where they are not the same they are infinitely more strict in Scotland than in Ireland or England. Look at our Criminal Law which is in force every day of the year! Why, it is ten times stronger than any "Coercion" Act, as you call it; yet we live and thrive under it because it only affects those who break the law of the land, and we are glad that it should be so. Our opportunities are the same, yet whilst we are making money in business or by farming you are fighting amongst yourselves as to who shall be your leader in your battle of Separation from a great European Power, whose purse alone saves you from the bankruptcy which waits on idleness.

I call your especial attention to this point, because during the past few years the taxpayers of Great Britain, including the farmers of Scotland, have paid large sums of money for the exclusive use of Ireland. I should be sorry to say how many millions of money have been poured into Ireland in order to prove our goodwill. To take the last example, in 1903 we guaranteed no less than £100,000,000 to enable Irishmen to purchase holdings, and we made over £12,000,000 more as a bonus to tempt landlords to sell. I have often heard it said that we are not a generous nation, but you will find it difficult to name any other country that has behaved with such continuous liberality. And now we are to be asked to find a further sum, not far off £3,000,000 of money, to put evicted tenants back on their old farms, to build houses for them and equip them with stock. Has it ever occurred to you why we do these things without grumbling? We get nothing out of it for ourselves; nothing of the kind has ever been done for us. We do it, and we feel the taxation—make no mistake about it—because we believe that it is our duty to make some reparation for the mishandling of Irish affairs by England long years ago. And what return do we get? We are denounced by your members and your political agitators as a tyrannous race of foreigners whom you ought to shun as lepers, and we are humiliated by your attachment to our enemies in time of war. So I feel bound to tell you that we feel that our money is being wasted, and that many of us are certain that it would be better spent at home.

But this is not all. In Scotland we are all aware that the credit of Great Britain among civilised nations is being shaken by the outrages and agrarian disturbances to which you resort, or which you do not denounce, when you wish to alter the existing law. Almost every day we read of houses being fired into, of cattle being driven off grazing farms, of persons (generally of our own faith) being boycotted. We are

told of families and farms being under police protection by day and night, of magistrates who refuse to convict criminals who offer no defence, and of dozens of terrible cases of outrage for which no arrests are made. Well, we may have many defects in Scotland, but we are a law-abiding people. I do not say that there is no crime amongst us, but we like to see it punished with a heavy hand. And therefore it is that you have lost our sympathy: because crime and disorder is encouraged in your midst as a political virtue instead of being punished as a social sin. We cannot forget that those who in Ireland suffer most are men of our own calling in life, for whom we feel a natural sympathy; and, whenever we read what the Judges say about the state of Ireland at the present time, our blood boils with indignation against those who persecute our brother farmers and fellow loyalists.

For these reasons we—I speak for thousands of Scotsmen—are determined to withstand any further demand for Home Rule until you give some sign that you are fit to govern yourselves in the humblest local affairs. You must be tolerant to those who disagree with you in politics and religion, you must respect the law and enforce it, you must entirely cut yourselves off from the agitating societies which are responsible for most of the crime in Ireland. Pray believe that we bear you no ill-will, but you cannot coerce us by your bad behaviour into surrendering what we believe to be a valuable part of our Empire to the forces of disorder.

It is for you to settle how you shall regain our sympathy for your political ideals. At this present moment it is utterly forfeited. We have lost confidence in your power to govern yourselves, in your desire to work, in your wish to suppress disorder, in your determination to bring miscreants to justice. Until you have proved yourselves better men and citizens than you are to-day, be assured that you can expect no further help from the farmers of Scotland.

Your obedient servant,

ANGUS MACFARLANE.

LETTERS TO BRITISH FARMERS.

FROM AN IRISH FARMER.

I.

GENTLEMEN,—

Like you I am a farmer: but with this great difference. You live on the other side of the Irish Sea, and I on this. Less than forty miles of sea separates us; no barrier as regards communication, but as regards our daily life a complete change.

I have been through troublous times—through the days of the Plan of Campaign and the reign of the Land League. We thought those days were gone and forgotten with the Land Act of 1903, and ten years

of Unionist administration and legislation. The country seemed settling down to a period of prosperity and development.

That is changed now. I am told that in Great Britain at the General Election you refused to believe that Home Rule was a living issue. I can hardly think that can be so ; but, at any rate, you put the Liberals in power, and from that time our troubles began. The immediate cause, however, was the visit of a United Irish League organiser. I suppose that the local subscriptions to the head office had fallen off. In the times of peace men had ceased to take much interest in agitation. By the help of the priests the local branches were revived, non-subscribers had their names posted up and published in the local papers, and our Nationalist member left Westminster for a fortnight and gave himself up to the task of stirring up discontent in his constituency. In that work he has been only too successful.

Lawlessness is rampant where peace once reigned. Let me give you a few facts. On a holding next to mine the occupier lives under constant police protection. He and his family are always in a state of siege. Three policemen are occupied in guarding him from outrage. They sleep in the house ; accompany him into the fields when he goes out to work ; go with him when he goes down into the village ; and never let him out of their sight. If he was the Czar of Russia he could not be better protected.

How would you like that in your villages in England and Scotland ? Remember this man is not a criminal : he is an ordinary genial farmer on friendly terms with his neighbours until the League stepped in.

Of course, he is boycotted. His cattle have to be sent to Dublin before they can be sold. His stores and his household goods come from Dublin mostly ; sometimes he can get them in the county town twenty miles away. But the village shops are closed to him, and so are those in the villages and towns round about.

You can judge from these facts what life is like in Ireland if one refuses to obey the orders of the League.

Can you wonder that some surrender straightway, and, unlike the man I am speaking of, bow down to intimidation. You may think them cowards. But the Leaguers are near to us, and in our daily life ; Dublin Castle and the law are distant ; and we are not sure of the sympathy of our rulers.

Boycotting and intimidation are not the only weapons of the League. "Let the bullocks wander," is their war cry now ; and thanks to the Government spokesman who declared that the Government did not regard it as a serious crime, the Leaguers have come to regard it as their most useful possession.

I have read that one of the Liberals in the House of Commons thinks that this form of outrage is a "practical joke." He cannot be a farmer or he would not have spoken so foolishly. I put the point to you farmers in Great Britain. Would you think it a "practical joke" to wake up one morning and find the gates on your farm smashed and your valuable stock scattered over the county ? I think you would make a mighty stir, and rightly too. I think that your local M.P. would soon be bombarding the Government with questions, and would not venture to refer to the matter as a "practical joke" unless he wished to bring his political career to a speedy termination.

All the comfort we get is to be told that we must take steps to protect

ourselves. Well, some of us are going to, and if we are punished, we shall claim Mr. Birrell as an accessory.

Faithfully yours,

X. Y. Z.

P.S.—I don't give my name or address. I have no wish to be picked up on the roadside, as Frank M'Auliffe was the other day, with 47 shot wounds in his neck and shoulders.

II.

GENTLEMEN,—The kind attention you gave to my former letter has emboldened me to write to you again.

I have read that life in your villages and country towns is so monotonous that the young people are leaving by scores for the cities, where the attractions and variety are greater. I can assure you that we, in the rural districts of this part of Ireland, lack nothing to make our days (and nights) exciting. But I do not think that you would change places with us on that account. We farmers long for peace and freedom to follow our calling—but both are denied us.

Would that some of you could have been with me in Galway last week during the Assizes. After hearing what I heard, and seeing what I saw, you would have returned wiser men, and would have determined to make an end of Mr. Birrell and his subordinates, whose want of courage and determination has reduced our land to so sad a plight.

Your Irish Solicitor-General was in the Court-house struggling—poor man—against adversity in the shape of a Galway jury. He looked unhappy, as well he might, when his eloquence and law were being wasted. But let me put a parallel case before you. What would you think, who are British farmers, if one of your local justices attended a public meeting and incited his audience to murder a neighbouring landowner who was opposed to him in politics? I can only imagine the consternation that would be created. And if he were a Tory J.P., with what indignation your Liberals would have attacked him and the whole Tory party!

Here in Galway, a magistrate did this, and I have yet to learn of the public condemnation of his action by your Liberal party.

He was brought to trial, it is true. But what a farce it was. The Galway jury were, naturally, sympathetic, and he was acquitted, although the Irish Solicitor-General was sent over from London to conduct the prosecution in person.

I wonder you do not protest against such useless expense. We could have told you that the whole Irish Bar would not have secured a verdict of guilty. How, then, could one man, even though he have the rank and authority of a law officer of the Crown, expect to perform the impossible?

He, doubtless, did his best. But he might as well have tried to bridle the eloquence of a Nationalist M.P. as persuade a Galway jury against its will. We have this consolation and hope that he will go back to London a sadder man, and will counsel the Chief Secretary to take more strenuous steps to restore law and order.

Experience is a good teacher; and we should welcome the Chief Jester here during the recess. We can guarantee him a real acquaintance with life under the thumb of the United Irish League.

His quips and jokes may raise a laugh at Westminster, especially amongst his most devoted slaves, the Irish Parliamentary party, but they cause us to sorrow and despair.

You may think that I am running the parallel case too much, but I want to bring home to you what we suffer in Ireland. I can do it best by trying to show you what kind of life you would lead if the events I describe were transferred to your doors. Somehow, events lose their significance when they cross the Irish Sea ; and by the time the Chief Jester has laughed them away they appear trivial to you.

Let me give you an instance. There is a Nationalist M.P. by the name of Ginnell. I do not know whether you have ever heard of him. He claims to have emerged from insignificance by the fact that he is the author of the new "cattle-driving" policy. A week or two ago he went down to Westmeath and tried to get the people there to adopt his policy, holding up, as a brilliant example for them to follow, the disorders in Roscommon and Galway : telling them that they would have the war chest of Mr. Redmond's League at their back, and not forgetting Lord Denman's unfortunate phrase in the House of Lords.

What happened when the matter was brought before the House of Commons ? The Chief Jester pooh-poohed the whole thing. "There was no proof that Mr. Ginnell used the words complained of." "The meeting was a small impromptu one of no sort of importance." And you, probably, thought that we were making a fuss about nothing. But was that so ? On the contrary. The local Nationalist papers devoted columns to reporting Mr. Ginnell's speech, and gave a long list of local Nationalists who were present.

That is what I mean by events losing their perspective. Mr. Ginnell's speech may send a whole county into open disorder. It is a matter of, perhaps, life and death to us, but in the House of Commons it merely serves the Chief Secretary as an opportunity for the further display of the quality of his wit.

Do you wonder why we sometimes abandon hope, and the weaker ones find refuge with their late enemies, and surrender to the League ?

Faithfully yours,

X. Y. Z.

P.S.—I would advise those of you who want to know what life is like in County Galway to read Mr. Justice Wright's address to the Grand Jury at the recent Assizes.

THE EVICTED TENANTS BILL.

By a wholesale and drastic use of the closure the Government have forced the Evicted Tenants Bill through the House of Commons, with twelve of its fifteen clauses undiscussed by the Committee. It is the Government sop to the Nationalist party as compensation for the failure of the Irish Council Bill.

The Government could not consistently maintain that the measure was urgent in view of the fact that only in October last the then Chief Secretary, Mr. Bryce, said :—

“ He entirely denied that it could be fairly said that the Act had failed in dealing with the evicted tenants.

“ He did not think that the progress made had been inconsiderable, considering the difficulties which surrounded the question.”

—October 29, 1906.

They could, but wouldn't.

Those Englishmen who think of the evicted tenants as poor, rack-rented holders, turned out by harsh landlords for inability to pay exorbitant rents, are wasting their sympathies. The tenants could pay, but wouldn't. This has been acknowledged time and again by the Nationalist leaders. On February 14, Mr. Hugh Law, a Nationalist M.P., said in the House of Commons that—

“ It was undoubtedly the fact that many of the men who suffered eviction in those years, under the Plan of Campaign, were people of whom it used often to be said that they could, but would not pay their rent.”

The Bargain of 1903.

Nationalists maintain that in 1903 the landlords promised to restore the evicted tenants. Even if this were true—which it is not—it could not hold good now, because the same conditions do not apply. Speaking in the House of Commons on May 4, 1903, during the debates on the Irish Land Bill, Mr. Dillon said :—

“ From the point of view of the number of people involved this is a small question. When the Evicted Tenants Act was passed there were about 800 of these people. Half of them have since disappeared. Some have emigrated, some have been reinstated, and some have died, so that there are only about 400 families now to be dealt with.”

In 1903 the number of evicted tenants to be restored was 400 ; the number to-day is 6,000 !

Mr. Dillon estimated the cost of restoring the evicted tenants at £200,000 ; Mr. Birrell estimates it at £2,000,000 for purchase alone.

Some shall be chosen and others left.

Under Mr. Birrell's Bill some 2,000 evicted tenants will be chosen, and some 4,000 left.

The point is an important one. Said Mr. Dillon in 1903 :—

“ If you leave any section of the people outside the scope of the Bill, you will have, wherever they are, centres of ill-feeling and disturbance, which will prejudice the mind of Irishmen with regard to the working of the Bill.”

So, too, Mr. T. W. Russell, one of the “ backers ” of Mr. Birrell’s Bill, said in 1894 :—

“ He was not prepared to leave 15 per cent. of the evicted tenants behind, like an open sore festering and breeding corruption.”—July 26.

The 66 per cent. of the evicted tenants who are outside the scope of Mr. Birrell’s Bill will probably have something to say on this point.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL’S VIEWS.

Mr. T. W. Russell’s views on the Evicted Tenants Bill of 1894 obtain considerable importance from the fact that he is now one of the “ backers ” of Mr. Birrell’s Bill of 1907.

The following extracts from his speeches in the House of Commons in 1894 will probably be found useful :—

“ As he understood the first part of that proposal, it was to the effect that the old tenants might be put back by the arbitrators upon certain conditions and terms, but that in case of the landlord objecting to their being so replaced—**and what landlord would not object—why should he not? He had been defrauded by his tenants.**”—April 19, 1894.

“ . . . Let them look at the condition of these tenants, and he had seen hundreds of them in their sad extremity. In the first place, the land was waste and derelict in a great number of cases; the houses had been thrown down or gone to decay, and were probably non-existent; the people had been living on doles served out to them; and **he asked the House were these people to be forced on the State as purchasers under this arrangement?** Where was the security for the State? Was it in the land that was derelict or in the people who were bankrupt?”—April 19, 1894.

“ . . . There were admittedly 1,500 new tenants created on the land, and it was also admitted the Chief Secretary could not evict these 1,500 new tenants. (Cries of ‘ Why ? ’) The idea of stopping eviction by carrying out fresh evictions! . . . He saw the hon. member for Mayo (Mr. Dillon) opposite. What had the hon. gentleman done in the past with regard to this—what was he doing every day? Was not the hon. gentleman calling upon the people to boycott the land-grabber, and how was he to sit quietly by and allow these 1,500 new tenants to remain in possession and the old tenants to remain out? What settlement was that? He said that was an absolutely impossible position of affairs to bring about, and it would be worse than things were now. Everyone of them would be exposed to boycotting and to crime of every kind, and he did not think he could ever bring himself to consent to a thing that would run such a risk as that.”—April 19, 1894.

“ . . . They were going to reward those who broke the law, and they were going to allow those who were peaceable to be turned out to starve.”—April 19, 1894.

"... He said it was one of the most dangerous experiments that had ever been made in agrarian legislation."—July 23, 1894.

"... He could never be brought to vote for a proposal which said to a man who had been living peaceably on a farm for 12 or 14 years, 'You must give up your holding to the man who previously had it.'"—July 23, 1894.

"... There was something to be said against the evictions which took place after 1879 and up to 1882, for the House of Lords threw out the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, which might have saved these evictions. But when they came to consider the evictions which took place after 1886—that was the Plan of Campaign evictions—he was absolutely clear in his own mind that there was nothing to be said for them on the merits at all."—July 26, 1894.

Mr. Morley's Bill.

The principal clauses of Mr. Morley's Bill of 1894 contained the following ideas:—

- (1) A board of three arbitrators was to be set up, and their office was to last for three years.
 - (2) In cases of land which had not been re-let the evicted tenant was allowed, within one year of the passing of the Act, to petition the board to reinstate him.
 - (3) Providing the Commissioners considered that he had made out a *prima facie* case, a conditional order for reinstatement was to be made.
 - (4) If the landlord did not object, and on the payment of certain arrears, the order was to be made absolute.
 - (5) If the landlord objected, the case was to go to the arbitrators, who were to hear the parties and decide according to whether the landlord or the tenant had acted unreasonably.
 - (6) When the land was occupied by another tenant, the evicted tenant might petition as before, but if the sitting tenant objected, that objection was to be a bar to the petition.
 - (7) If the sitting tenant did not object, the arbitrators were to proceed as if the land were in the occupation of the landlord.
 - (8) The sitting tenant was to receive compensation—one-half to be paid by the Court, and the other half by the evicted tenant.
 - (9) The money required for arrears and compensation was to be provided by a charge of £100,000 on the Irish Church surplus.
- The arbitration and other expenses were to come out of the taxes.

It will be seen at a glance what strides the Radical party has made towards wholesale confiscation of property and tolerance of crime in the interval that has elapsed between 1894 and 1907. But we must not forget that the Nemesis which overtook Mr. Morley's Bill in the House of Lords is keeping a watchful eye upon his very inferior successor, and if they had good reason to reject the earlier measure with all its safeguards, that reason is strengthened ten thousandfold to-day.

Nationalist Criticism.

A criticism of Mr. Birrell's Bill from a Nationalist point of view is interesting.

The "Roscommon Herald" says:—

"The Evicted Tenants Bill is of a very flabby nature. . . An Evicted Tenants Bill to be drastic and popular should apply to the ranches as well as to the few dozen cases for which legislation is proposed in the counties. But like everything else this wretched Government attempts, it is half-hearted and temporising, exciting the maximum of opposition and the minimum of enthusiasm. The Tories are so roused against the compulsory clauses that Mr. Birrell's Bill has not a ghost of a chance of passing this year. . . But a Bill like the present one, that is not meant to pass this year, is just as contemptible as their Irish Council Bill."

A Nationalist View.

From "The Irish People" (July 27) we take the following as affording a Nationalist opinion of Mr. Birrell's "Evicted Tenants Bill":—

"Whatever be the fate of the Evicted Tenants Bill, it is impossible for the public now to hide from themselves that there is a bitter disappointment in store for thousands of the 'wounded soldiers.' Mr. Birrell gave a distinct pledge in the House of Commons on Monday that only two thousand evicted tenants would be restored under the Bill. He did not actually insert that number in the measure, as he said some of the rejected claims might be reconsidered by the Estates Commissioners, but the number in excess of that figure would be 'very few indeed.' This means that with the consent of Mr. Redmond and the Irish party five thousand five hundred evicted tenants have been sacrificed. It is an astounding betrayal. The National honour was pledged in every shape and form to these men. Now they are deemed unworthy of the slightest consideration. Except from Mr. Sheehan, not a syllable of protest has been raised against their exclusion and abandonment. Five out of every eight applications sent in have been ruthlessly rejected.

"Mr. Redmond remains mute. His sole concern is to be able to boast that he had brought home some little Bill at the end of the Session. That betrays a poor conception of the responsibility of his position and his obligations to the evicted tenants. The Government would respect him more if he had held out manfully for the rights of the men whose applications have been rejected.

"Another serious matter is that even as regards the tenants who would be restored under the Bill they will, Mr. Birrell has definitely stated, only get holdings of about forty acres instead of being put back into their old homes, getting other holdings substantially equivalent in value and where their former farms were economic having them enlarged, as provided by the Purchase Act.

"We shall be glad indeed if the two thousand men whose claims have been recognised by the Estates Commissioners are reinstated, but we cannot forget that nearly three times that number will still be left on the roadside, that the passage of the Bill will be a message

of despair to them, and that in too many cases there will be nothing before them but the emigrant ship or the workhouse."

The Compact of 1903.

We hear much of the compact of 1903 during the debates on the Evicted Tenants Bill. The best summary of the agreement then come to is that given by Mr. Wyndham on June 29 of that year. He said:—

"They practically came to agreement on the previous Wednesday, when he ventured to lay down three principles:—

"(1) That it was desirable to settle the evicted tenants question;

"(2) That no pressure in favour of the evicted tenants should be put on those holdings now in the occupation of others; and

"(3) That in using the powers of this Bill to settle the land questions, they ought not to single out one class for preferential treatment to the detriment of another.

"All those principles were accepted without dissent."

A Short Shift.

Notwithstanding Lord Crewe's declaration in the House of Lords on July 10 that the Government held that "where it is shown that a man is a *bona fide* farmer, working his farm to advantage and desiring to retain it, he certainly ought not to be dispossessed," it is clear from the debates on the Evicted Tenants Bill that the Government have no intention of inserting any such proviso in their Bill.

They refused Mr. Campbell's amendment to secure this, although Mr. Birrell sympathised with the *bona fide* farmer, and said that it would be "a monstrous thing" if he were evicted. But he leaves it entirely to the Estates Commissioners to say whether this shall or shall not be done. There is nothing to prevent them doing it, and the Government stubbornly refuse to give the Estates Commissioners explicit directions not to carry out these evictions.

Mr. Redmond advised Mr. Birrell to maintain his unyielding attitude, and gave the lie to his declarations in 1903. On June 29 of that year, the Irish Nationalist leader said that if these *bona fide* farmers "desired to continue in their holdings, he would not give his sanction to any attempt compulsorily to get them out."

We know the value of Mr. Redmond's professions. Promises made to be broken at the earliest opportunity.

"One Obstinate Man."

The Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. Cherry), in the debates on the Evicted Tenants Bill (July 17), asked:—"Was one man to be allowed to keep a whole county in turmoil, and call upon the Government for an army of police? There were cases in which one obstinate man was keeping the whole district in turmoil." There must be, in his opinion, "some limit to which the State is put in providing protection for an unpopular man."

This addition to the rhetorical blunders which the members of the Government always indulge in when Irish affairs are under discussion

is the Government's opinion of the "new tenant" who refuses to be turned out of his holding to make room for a former evicted tenant. We know now why the Government refuse to keep their pledge that a *bona fide* "new tenant" should not be displaced.

Nationalists and Leaguers will not hesitate to construe this speech into an expression of Government sympathy for their work of making it hot for the "planter." The position of "the obstinate man" is an unfortunate one: no matter how law-abiding he may be; no matter how properly and fitly he may be working his farm; unless his Nationalist neighbours are content to leave him unmolested, he is to be evicted in order to save the expense entailed by the police protecting him!

A Matter of Serious Concern.

It is a matter of serious concern to the taxpayers of Great Britain that Mr. Birrell refuses to insert in the Evicted Tenants Bill the limitations in the report of the Estates Commissioners on which the Bill was to a large extent justified by the Government in the House of Commons.

It will be remembered that the Commissioners found that there were 2,000 evicted tenants for whom holdings were required, and that the maximum amount of land to be taken was 80,000 acres.

Mr. Birrell himself said, in introducing the Bill, that:—"The problem therefore is, how are we, after all these years, to set about in the quickest possible way to effect the restoration, **not of an unknown and uncertain number of evicted tenants**, but of those 2,000 persons, assuming that to be the outside figure, whose cases have been or will have been inquired into and reported upon. We have to appreciate what the limited purposes of the Bill are. They are the reinstatement of those 2,000 scheduled or named persons compulsorily."

A more specific and emphatic declaration could not be conceived. Mr. Birrell now goes back on his own words, and refuses to embody in the Bill either this or the limit as to the amount of land.

Consequently, the measure is no longer a limited one, but can be applied universally, and opens up the prospect of compulsory land purchase to whatever extent the Estates Commissioners think expedient.

By this violation of their pledges, the Government have fully justified the action of the Unionists in opposing the Bill.

The American Applicant.

So determined is Mr. Birrell not to limit the scope of the Bill that he refused to accept Mr. Staveley Hill's amendment requiring that the persons who are reinstated in holdings must be domiciled in Ireland.

Mr. Birrell took the usual line of expressing his agreement with the principle of the amendment, but declining to insert the provisions in the Bill.

Mr. T. W. Russell, who is backing the Bill as a Minister, said on a similar amendment to Mr. Morley's Bill in 1894 (July 27), "I cannot for the life of me see why the Government should offer encouragement to these people to return to Ireland, where they cannot live. This is a substantial and useful amendment, and I shall support it."

The attitude of the Government is all the more remarkable when it is borne in mind that Mr. Birrell declared specifically on the second reading that the purposes of the Bill were "limited."

Turn him out

Another limitation Mr. Birrell refused to put in the Bill was an amendment designed to secure that the Estates Commissioners should be subject to a time limit of three years in which to make up their minds whether a "new tenant" should or should not be evicted.

As Mr. Long pointed out, unsettlement and disquiet would be created amongst the "new tenants" unless the amendment were accepted. Mr. Birrell refused to see how unfair it was that the new tenants should be left for the rest of their lives under a sentence of eviction. The Radical party, however, ran away from their boasted adherence to "fixity of tenure"; rejected the amendment; and voted for insecurity of tenure for these farmers!

Police protection for "new tenants."

In reply to a question by Mr. Long, Mr. Birrell says (July 25) that on January 1, 1906, (1) 10 out of the 47 persons receiving constant protection, and (2) 61 out of the 178 persons receiving patrol protection, were new tenants. On July 1, 1907, the corresponding figures were (1) 13 and 50, and (2) 47 and 167.

The protection of both kinds afforded to new tenants between the dates named was given mainly by police of the county establishments, and 23 extra men were employed upon the same duty for periods between those dates. The statutory charge recoverable from local authorities in respect of the employment of such extra men during the year 1906 amounts to about £160, the cost to the State in the first instance being about £460.

In seven cases of constant protection on January 1, 1906, and in eight cases on July 1, 1907, the protection was afforded from permanent police stations, and in all cases of patrol protection the protection was given from such stations. The number of policemen exclusively employed in affording constant protection to new tenants was, on January 1, 1906, 21, and on July 1, 1907, 27.

IRISH DIARY.

1907.

July 1.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Debate on Land Purchase in Ireland. Speeches by Lord Clonbrock, Lord Denman, Lord Ashbourne, Earl of Crewe, and Lord Londonderry.

July 4.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Debate on Irish University Education. Speeches by Mr. Kettle, Mr. Gwynn, Mr. Birrell, Sir Edward Carson, Mr. Butcher, Dr. Massie, Mr Healy, and others.

"Times."—Letter from Messrs. J. Vaughan and Son on boycotting in Roscommon with reference to the farm of Fohannabeg, near Ballintubber.

By-election: DURHAM (Jarrow):—

P. F. Curran (Lab.)	..	..	..	..	4,698
P. Rose-Innes (U.)	..	..	..	..	3,930
S. L. Hughes (R.)	..	..	..	..	3,474
J. O'Hanlon (N.)	..	..	..	..	2,122

July 5.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Debate on Irish Land Purchase Finance. Speeches by Mr. Redmond, Mr. Moore, Mr. Runciman, Mr. Birrell, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Asquith.

July 7.—Mr. John Redmond at Battersea.

July 8.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Second reading of Evicted Tenants Bill. Speeches by Mr. Moore, Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Long, Mr. C. C. Craig, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Redmond, and Mr. Birrell.

July 10.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Debate on Lord Donoughmore's motion for a return of evicted tenants to be restored. Speeches by Lord Denman, Lord Ashbourne, Earl of Crewe, and Lord Lansdowne.

July 12.—Orange demonstrations in Belfast and elsewhere.

July 14.—Speech by Mr Ginnell, M.P., at Killulagh, Co. Westmeath.

July 16.—Speech by Mr. W. Redmond, M.P., at Wicklow.

July 17.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Evicted Tenants Bill. Committee stage.

July 19.—"Freeman's Journal."—Telegram to Mr. Redmond from National Committee of United Irish League of America.

July 21.—Demonstration at Enniscorthy. Letter read from Sir T. Esmonde, M.P., dissociating himself from the Irish Parliamentary party. Mr. Reddy, M.P., at Kilchreest; Mr. Ginnell, M.P., at Elphin.

July 22.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Evicted Tenants Bill. "Gag" resolution carried; and Committee stage continued.

July 23.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Evicted Tenants Bill. Committee stage continued.

July 24.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Motion by Lord Donoughmore for a return with respect to the evicted tenants. Speeches by Lord Denman and Lord Lansdowne.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Evicted Tenants Bill. Committee stage continued.

"Freeman's Journal."—Manifesto from Mr. Arthur Lynch.

July 25.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Debate on Irish Department of Agriculture and on the administration of the law in Ireland. Speeches by Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Long, and Mr. Birrell.

July 27.—Special meeting of the Irish Parliamentary party at Westminster.

July 29.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Evicted Tenants Bill. Report stage. By-elections: WICKLOW (East):—

Mr. J. Muldoon (N.) returned unopposed.

KILKENNY (South):—

Mr. N. J. Murphy (N.) returned unopposed.

July 31.—Correspondence published between Sir Thomas Esmonde, M.P., and Captain Donelan, M.P.

IRISH FACTS.

Vol. 1.—No. 6.]

[SEPT.—OCT., 1907.]

CURRENT NOTES.

Another Postman Robbed.

The disgraceful attacks on Irish postmen whilst on duty still continue. Should the unfortunate official be suspected of having letters for delivery in his possession which are believed to contain writs, he is set upon and his letters taken away.

The most recent case occurred on July 23, when the postman from Carrigallen S.O. to Mullagh Boy was attacked by three men disguised as women, who took from him five letters supposed to contain writs.

In this case, violence does not appear to have been used. At Doura the postman defied the United Irish League, and persisted in delivering his letters. In consequence he had to suffer boycott and intimidation, and on one occasion was set upon by the mob with such violence that he was with difficulty saved by the police from serious injury.

This robbery on July 23 is not an isolated incident. It is part and parcel of the Nationalist campaign in Ireland. Mr. Birrell knows it—and when his attention was drawn in the House of Commons (April 22) to this class of crime and was asked whether he had taken steps to protect His Majesty's Post Office employees from robbery and assault, he replied that "The police authorities have issued the necessary instructions to the local police in the matter. Protection will be afforded in all cases in which it may be necessary."

In view of this definite statement, it is clear that this official whose case we have dealt with should have received protection. Mr. Birrell (August 13) tried to excuse the inaction of his subordinates by protesting that they did not think that the contents of the letters would be known before delivery! The explanation would have had more force was it not the case that the contents of letters do frequently become known in Ireland before delivery; and instances to that effect have occurred quite recently.

Writ Serving in Leitrim.

Pity the poor bailiff in Leitrim who has writs to serve! The sorrows of Francis Cooke, employed in that capacity, were told at Ballinamore Petty Sessions on July 27.

Accompanied by 10 constables, he approached the house of one Taylor, to carry out his duties. He was met at the gate by a crowd of 30 or 40 people "fully determined looking," armed with spades, four-pronged grapes, and turf-slanses.

Cooke did not proceed, and went away. "There would have been murder," he said in his evidence, "if I hadn't done so." The crowd followed him and his escort, cheering and shouting and booing.

"Would the magistrates tolerate such conduct?" the Crown Solicitor asked. The majority of the magistrates decided that they would, and the accused were let off.

Pleasant Sundays in Roscommon.

On Sunday (July 28) Mr. Ginnell, M.P., the originator of the cattle-driving policy, was booked to appear at Bella, some ten miles from Castlereagh, and there to hold a meeting under the auspices of the United Irish League.

At Bella, however, there is a boycotted grazing ranch; and the Government summoned up sufficient courage to proclaim the meeting! This is the first occasion upon which Mr. Birrell has taken so bold a course, and his new departure, we are told, was inaugurated with an imposing display of power. An "Irish Times" reporter thus describes the scene:—

"There was a corps of police cyclists, about 50 strong, armed with revolvers; about 50 police on foot, armed with rifles, and another 50 or so armed with batons, attended by the usual commissariat of service."

Such is Roscommon on a Sunday afternoon under Radical rule.

We wonder what would be the description applied to Great Britain were her rural districts rudely awakened from Sunday's rest and quiet by an invasion of her villages by a corps of armed police.

Life in the West of Ireland.

The following account of life in the West of Ireland under Mr. Birrell's rule appears in the Dublin "Daily Express" (July 31), in the form of a letter from Mr. H. Persse, J.P., of Woodville, Loughrea, County Galway.

We feel sure that everybody will feel horrified that the latest victim to the terrorism of these cattle-drivers was the innocent little child, now lying dangerously ill as a direct result of this unlawful raid.

It is a serious charge that Mr. Persse brings against the Irish Executive at the end of his letter. If it is true, it throws a sinister light on Mr. Birrell's policy with regard to this form of outrage. The Chief Secretary must be challenged on this point.

Mr. Persse's letter is as follows:—

Sir,—At about 1 a.m. this morning a gang of men, numbering about 200, appeared here close to this house and proceeded to drive off my cattle. The cattle were being guarded by the head-constable, two sergeants, and four constables. The party were all armed with sticks and hurleys. They first came in contact with the police while crossing the avenue, and the latter tried to prevent them from driving the cattle. The police failed in this owing to the numbers of the crowd, who drove the cattle on past the house, yelling and shouting at a great rate. The police again headed the party at the corner of the lawn and tried to prevent them from driving the cattle on to the public road, but they were again overpowered owing to numbers. One of the gang then gave a military word of command, and the raiders halted and faced the police with their sticks, but,

before they closed thought better of it, and again moved off along the road. The police again headed them for the third time, and this time the crowd scattered, and after a pursuit the police were able to rescue the cattle and drive them back. I understand that another farm was raided about half a mile from here at the same time as this, so that it is likely that there were at least 400 men engaged in this work in the district last night. **The worst effect of the raid, so far, is that a poor child who was lying ill, got a relapse owing to the excitement and fright, and is now lying dangerously ill, with all the appearances of brain fever.** I think I need not tell you that a raid of this description at the dead hour of night close to one's house, where a mob yelling and shouting and in conflict with the police, is not calculated to improve the health of my family, and it is quite possible that we will have another attack any of these nights, particularly as **the police inform me that they have orders not to use their arms in cases of this sort.** So how can five or six constables on these terms hope to cope with a crowd of raiders? The police further inform me that they have identified a large number of the crowd.—Yours faithfully,

H. PERSSE, J.P.

It will be recollected that on May 28 a mob of 100 persons raided Mr. Persse's farm, and drove off the sheep. This was the third raid Mr. Persse's stock had suffered.

Mr. Persse's offence is that in his capacity as a magistrate he was on the Bench when the defendants in a certain cattle-driving case were returned for trial.

In this way do Irish magistrates suffer for doing their duty.

Mr. Justice Ross speaks out.

In the Land Judges' Court, on July 29, Mr. Justice Ross had before him eight men charged with contempt of court, who were alleged to have taken part in driving sheep off the estate of Kelly Minors, at Shraah, Co. Roscommon, on May 1.

Mr. Justice Ross, in the course of his judgment, referred to the anti-grazing conspiracy in terms which amounted to a censure on Mr. Birrell's light-hearted method of treating disorder.

The following extracts from the Judge's speech will be read with interest:—

" . . . This was not a property from which any tenants had at any time been evicted. . . The only offence that the minor was guilty of was that he was in possession of some desirable property that other people were anxious to possess themselves of, and on May 1, what was well-known as a cattle drive took place on that farm. . . It was notorious that there was a conspiracy in the West of Ireland for the purpose of driving out the graziers from the land, and not merely intimidating them, but for the purpose of injuring the owners of grazing lands, in order that they might be squeezed into giving up the land, or that they might be bought up by the Estates Commissioners and distributed amongst the people—all that being carried out by public money. . .

" But it seemed to him (Mr. Justice Ross) that the poor in the streets of London or of any other large town, would have just as much

justification for taking their property from persons walking in the streets by force, as these people had in endeavouring to deprive the owners of these grazing lands of their just possession of them. It did not differ one bit, as he had already said, from highway robbery. . . Their programme of operations was a lawless one, and that the assembly was an unlawful one was as plain as that the sun shone at noon-day . . . The law in country places amongst these conspirators was practically a dead letter. There was good reason for saying that, because an Assize had just gone round, marked by the presence in places of high Law Officers of the Crown, and so far as he knew, not one conviction had taken place in offences of this kind, the witnesses were terrorised, the jurors were terrorised, and the law was powerless. . . The magistrates heard these policemen, and it would be only trifling with common-sense, and giving reasons to people who had no principle and who only wanted an excuse to act contrary to the dictates of justice, to suggest that there was any reason for what they did, namely, to refuse information. If that was the kind of magistrate who was holding the Commission of the King in that part of the country, he pitied the country. . . His Lordship's suggestion was that in cases where intimidation was being used, no public money should be advanced. . . It was perfectly unthinkable that public money should be used for the purpose of what was really furthering a conspiracy against property."—"Irish Times," July 30.

Six of the defendants were committed to prison for three months.

Cases at the Assizes.

Mr. Cherry, the Irish Attorney-General, replying (August 5) to a question by Mr. Moore, gave statistics of outrage cases at the recent Summer Assizes, which show that the Government, if they desire to punish crime and misdemeanour, will soon have to cease their reliance on the ordinary law.

One hundred and sixty-seven persons were returned for trial at the Assizes for agrarian offences.

The Crown secured the conviction of just three persons !

They **failed** to get convictions in the case of **54 persons**—31 being acquitted, and in the case of the remaining 23, the jury disagreeing.

As regards the remaining 110 persons, the evil day was postponed to the next Assizes.

It is hard to imagine a greater travesty of justice. We shall be surprised if the Government are not forced by public opinion to take drastic steps in the near future to secure the proper punishment of outrage and crime. The law officers cannot with decency allow Mr. Birrell to disregard the primary duties of his office as a Minister of the Crown.

Outrages in the South and West.

Some remarkable figures were extracted from Mr. Birrell in reply to a question by Mr. Lonsdale (August 6), who asked the Chief Secretary the number of agrarian outrages reported from the counties of Galway, Roscommon, Sligo, Leitrim, Tipperary, and King's County respectively in the three months ended March 31 and June 30 of 1906 and 1907.

Mr. Birrell gave the following statement showing the number of agrarian offences for the quarters mentioned :—

				March quarter.	
				1906.	1907.
King's County..	..	..	..	2	1
Galway, East Riding..	..	..	..	4	19
Galway, West Riding	..	..	..	4	8
Leitrim ..	..	..	..	—	5
Roscommon ..	..	..	..	2	—
Sligo ..	..	..	..	2	2
Tipperary, North Riding	..	..	..	2	2
Tipperary, South Riding	..	..	..	1	1
				17	38
				June quarter.	
				1906.	1907.
King's County..	..	..	..	—	3
Galway, East Riding..	..	..	..	3	35
Galway, West Riding	..	..	..	3	9
Leitrim ..	..	..	..	2	2
Roscommon ..	..	..	..	1	6
Sligo ..	..	..	..	2	3
Tipperary, North Riding	..	..	..	4	4
Tipperary, South Riding	..	..	..	—	1
				15	63

The figures are a remarkable commentary on the Government's assertion that Ireland is becoming more peaceful.

Comparing the March quarters of this and last year, the number of agrarian offences has **more than doubled !**

Comparing the June quarters of this and last year, the number of agrarian offences has **increased fourfold !**

The Government has failed to maintain law and order in six counties.

Let us hope that it will see the futility of the present policy before it is too late, and will no longer ignore the lesson this answer conveys.

It should also be remarked that these statistics amply justify the criticisms the Unionist party have passed on Mr. Birrell's rule in Ireland.

Mr. Grayson, M.P., on Belfast Strike.

From Irish Nationalists we have learnt to expect wild words and fierce threats. They have their American paymasters to satisfy. But Mr. Grayson, the recently elected Socialist M.P. for the Colne Valley, bids fair to eclipse them in virulence. His comments on the Belfast strike have been most unfortunate ; and though Mr. Birrell affected to treat them as nothing worth, there is a remarkable significance in the coincidence that a few hours after Mr. Grayson's speech at Huddersfield was published in Belfast, the mob took his advice.

At Huddersfield he is reported by the Belfast papers to have said, on Sunday, August 11, in reference to the Belfast strike, that :—

"The soldiers in that city were weary of doing nothing, and they would like a little blood to shed and a few bones to split. They would do that before the week-end. If the people had not shrapnel to shoot, they had broken bottles to throw."

Mr. Grayson was not an entire stranger to Belfast, as he had visited that city a few days previously and had delivered a speech on the situation, the nature of which is fully illustrated by the following extract :—

“ With all their weapons and force an enthusiastic mob had won the day when fighting for a cause which had justice and truth at the bottom. The military should either be withdrawn from Belfast or they should do their duty ; but if it came to the means of brutal warfare, if it came to war, he was satisfied the people who suffered oppression would render a good account of themselves. Let them get their serried battalions of military, with their guns and bayonets. They might put their pickets on every street corner, their soldiers would be useless and helpless nincompoops before the ranks of an enlightened majority. If they (the soldiers) had any self-respect they could not work for their shilling a day to be treated like marionettes and officered by spurious snobs who were called the aristocracy. Let your one fixed resolution be that you are going to fight the best fight you ever made in your lives.”

Mr. Grayson must be taught that he is no longer an irresponsible fire-brand addressing street corner meetings in Huddersfield, but M.P. for an important British constituency, and as such his utterances possess newly added importance and weight. The task of stirring up the people to outrage and disorder he can best leave to the Irish Nationalists, who are well fitted for the task.

American Home Rule Manifesto.

Mr. Redmond's American masters and cash producers have issued an address “ to the Friends of Ireland in America ” calling upon them to help by moral and financial aid—especially the latter—Mr. John Redmond and the “ patriots ” at Westminster and in Ireland.

For the benefit of our readers we reproduce a few passages from the manifesto :—

“ To the friends of Ireland in America.

“ The unanimous rejection of the Irish Council Bill by the delegates of the Irish people, assembled a few weeks ago in the largest and most representative Convention ever held in Ireland, has opened a new phase of the Irish question.

“ The shameful failure of the English Liberal party to fulfil the pledges made on their behalf by Gladstone, frequently reiterated by the present Prime Minister, Campbell-Bannerman, and relied on by the Irish people for many years, has placed upon Ireland herself, and upon her friends everywhere, a new responsibility. By their own choice the English Liberal party have elected to recommence the struggle between England and Ireland.

“ This struggle may be a prolonged and bitter one, or it can be speedily ended by the fulfilment on the part of the Liberal party of its basely abandoned pledges. The strength with which Ireland herself will force the fighting, and the extent to which she will be sustained by her friends in other lands, will determine whether the struggle is to be brief or prolonged. . . .

“ The duty is cast anew upon us of the United Irish League of America, who have from the beginning acted as auxiliaries to the

movement in Ireland, to do our part in strengthening the hands of the Irish leader, John E. Redmond, his colleagues, and the Irish National Organisation in the battle that lies ahead. . . .

“Existing branches of the United Irish League of America will, we trust, immediately take active measures to create and foster a public sentiment hostile to England’s position, and as embarrassing as they can possibly make it for her.”

We would especially draw the attention of our readers to the last passage. The charming frankness of their intention “to create and foster a public sentiment hostile to England’s position, and as embarrassing as they can possibly make it for her,” will come as a refreshing contrast to the soft soap Irish Nationalists usually ladle out to audiences in Great Britain.

After this there can be no doubt in men’s minds as to the regard the Irish Nationalist party have for Great Britain, and those who deliberately associate with this party must not wonder if they incur the odium of all right-thinking citizens.

We may perhaps also add that the understanding between the Government and the Irish Nationalists shows no signs of breaking.

Coercion ?

“The Dublin Gazette” of August 27 contained the following proclamation :—

By the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council of Ireland.

A PROCLAMATION.

ABERDEEN.

Whereas by an Act passed in the sixth year of the reign of His late Majesty King William IV., entitled “An Act to Consolidate the Laws relating to the Constabulary Force in Ireland,” it is, amongst other things, enacted that it shall and may be lawful to and for the Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, by the advice of the Privy Council in Ireland, to declare, by Proclamation, that any county, county of a city, or county of a town in Ireland, or any barony or baronies, half-barony or half-baronies, in any county at large, or any district of less extent than any barony or half-barony to be therein specified, is or are in a state of disturbance, and requires or require an additional establishment of Police :

And whereas it hath sufficiently appeared to Us that the County of Clare is in a state of disturbance, and requires an additional establishment of Police :

Now We, the Lord Lieutenant, by and with the advice of His Majesty’s Privy Council, by virtue of the said Act and the powers thereby vested in Us, do, by this our Proclamation, declare that the said County of Clare is in a state of disturbance, and requires an additional establishment of Police.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin, this 27th day of August, 1907.

GRENFELL.

H. A. ROBINSON.

A. P. MacDONNELL.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Similar proclamations are issued for the following areas :—

King's County,
County of Galway,
County of Leitrim,
County of Longford,
County of Roscommon.

A Faint-hearted Proclamation.

Parliament was prorogued on Wednesday, August 28. On the previous evening the above notice appeared in the "Dublin Gazette" proclaiming that six Irish counties were in a state of disturbance and required an additional establishment of police. So much for the smug assurances from the Prime Minister and Mr. Birrell and the youthful Lord Denman that Ireland was in a peaceful and satisfactory condition.

We may congratulate His Majesty's Government at last upon their recovery from the purblindness which has afflicted them for the past year, but we cannot acquit them of the utmost moral cowardice in postponing this important Proclamation until they were well out of reach of Parliamentary criticism. Nor can any justification be found, either on the score of efficiency or economy, for ransacking the rusty armoury of King William IV.'s antiquated legislation to find a weapon to deal with modern crime. Had the Crimes Act been put in force the promoters of disturbance could have been punished for their evil words before they had taken root in the minds of the people, and the agitation would have been firmly suppressed. King William's law only drafts more police, at great expense to the ratepayers, into districts where the harm has already been done; but it leaves the Ginnells and lesser agitators at liberty to continue their incitements to outrage. Such trumpery enactments are far more economical in their efficiency than efficient in their economy.

Moonlighting in Galway.

The following letter from Sir Lees Knowles appears in "The Times" of September 6 :—

"Sir,—The Government have proclaimed six counties in Ireland none too soon! About a fortnight ago, an attempt was made to blow up a nobleman in his shooting lodge, a form of intimidation that is causing a new terror to the law-abiding. And this week, a dwelling house near Galway has been attacked by a gang of moonlighters.

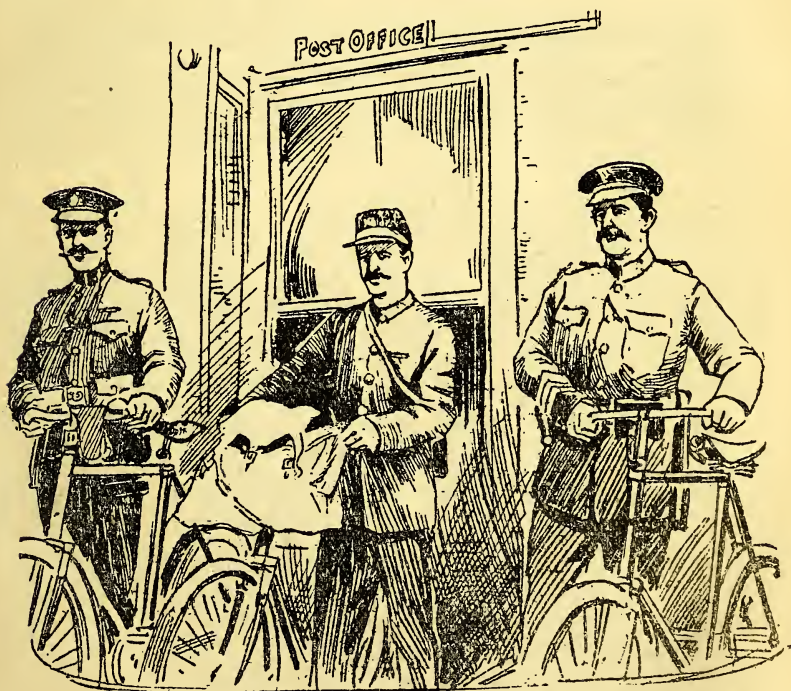
"The country hereabouts is in a state of absolute anarchy. Those in favour of crime suppress the reports of the papers, lest the Britisher should be shocked, and loyalists are too terrified to speak. The Government, moreover, keeps the information to itself.

"I have just returned from visiting the scene of the latest outrage near Craughwell and Loughrea, south of Athenry and 15 miles east of Galway. I went there in my motor; for the natives, I believe, dare not supply me with a car, knowing the object of my visit. St. Michael's House, on Monatigue Farm, is a small square brick dwelling-house covered with stucco, in a solitary position among trees, and situated about a mile from the main road. The land around it is 310 acres, all under grass, and one of the best farms

WRIT-SERVING IN LEITRIM.

The following illustration, reproduced from the "Irish Independent" of August 30th, 1907, will bring home to British people, in a striking manner, the condition of Ireland under Radical and Nationalist rule.

One can imagine the outcry there would be if postmen in Great Britain had to be guarded by the police whilst delivering letters.



[Photo by A. O'Reilly, Carrigallen.

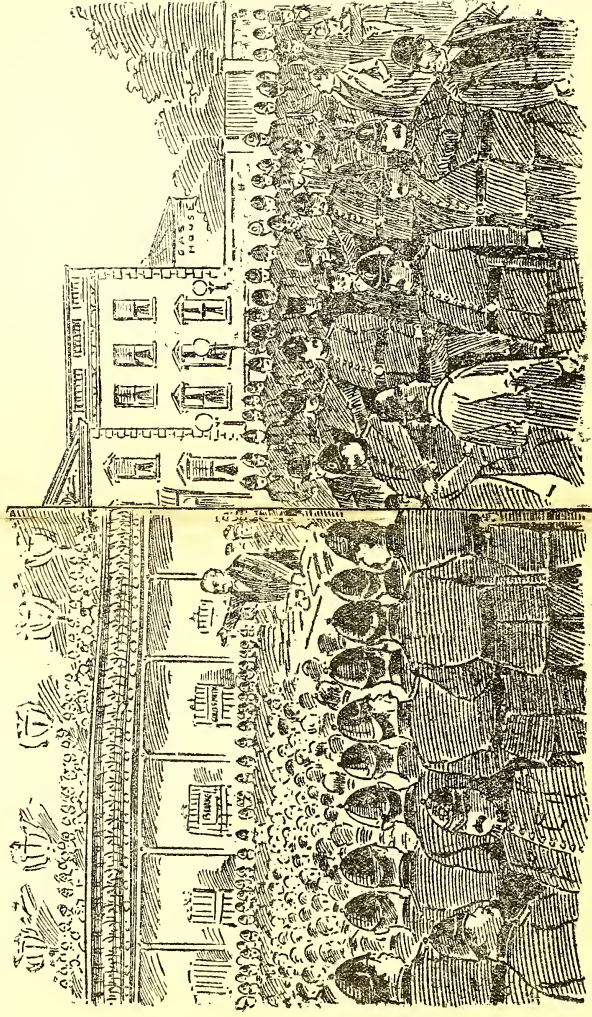
The tenants on the Mullaghboy Estate, County Leitrim, refused to accept the service of writs from their landlord. Bailiffs and police failed to accomplish the service, and the rural postman was relieved of some letters supposed to contain writs. So far the letters are undelivered, as the tenants close their doors and refuse admittance to the postman and his escort. The photo shows him starting on duty protected by two Carrigallen policemen.

From the "Irish Independent,"

August 30th, 1907.

THE "VIRILE" CAMPAIGN.

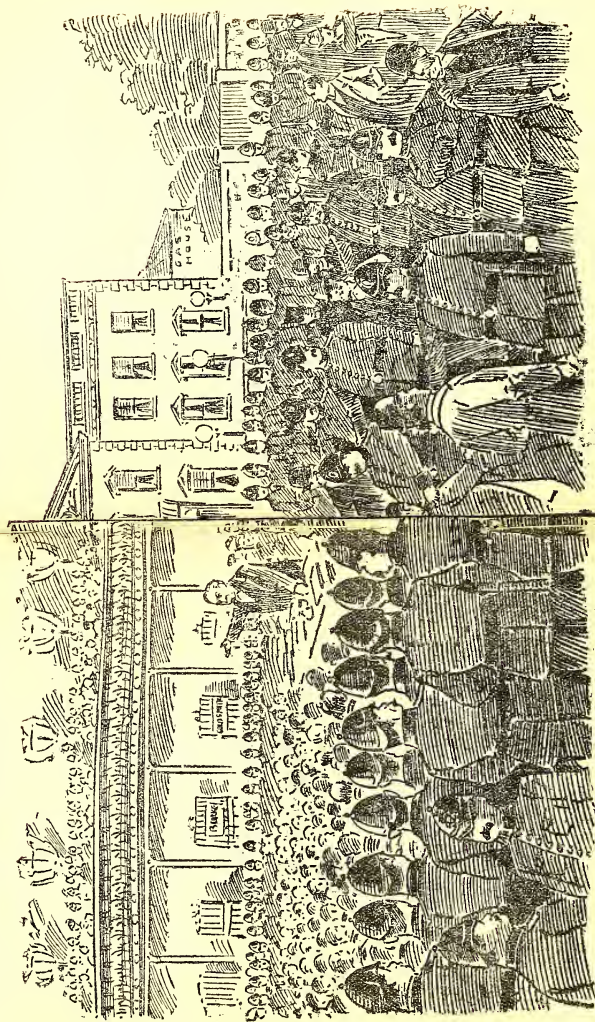
The following amusing view of Mr. Redmond's meeting at the Dublin Mansion House is reproduced from the Nationalist paper, the "Irish People" (September 14th), which also gives an account of the incident here depicted (see page 229).



Reproduced from the "Irish People,"
September 14th, 1907.

THE "VIRILE" CAMPAIGN.

The following amusing view of Mr. Redmond's meeting at the Malin Mansion House is reproduced from the Nationalist paper, the "Irish People" (September 14th), which also gives an account of the incidents here depicted (see page 229).



Reproduced from the "Irish People,"
September 14th, 1907.

IRISH NATIONALIST UNITY.

Mr. Redmond adopts a lofty tone towards those who are trying to heal the differences which have arisen within the Irish Nationalist Party. Mr. Redmond's attitude as it appears to certain Nationalists is depicted below.



BRUSH THEM BACK.

[Mr. Redmond, in his speech at Ballybofey, ordered the Nationalists who are in favour of the restoration of unity to "cease brawling," and said that if they did not do so they should be "brushed aside."]

Reproduced from the "Irish People,"

September 7th, 1907.

in the district. About 40 years ago there were some evictions on the estate and then, for 20 years, a Mr. McDonagh, a Nationalist and a Land Leaguer, I am told—at all events, a local Irishman—was the tenant. Shortly before his death, three years ago, he purchased the estate, and now, his son, Mr. Martin McDonagh, a merchant of Galway, is the owner. The house has been unoccupied for upwards of 20 years; but, when there is harvesting or other work to be done, workmen go out from Galway and stay in it. Thus, on Wednesday night last, there were in the house Mr. Martin McD.'s headman and five other men with him. 'After smoking and saying our prayers,' as my informant said, the party went to bed at 9.45 p.m., in a room on the ground floor on the right of the house. At 11.25 p.m. they were aroused by a big setter dog in the room with them, which gave tongue. About two minutes later a shot was fired. Then came the attack—a perfect fusillade. The headman hastily dressed, and the other men cowered in bed, one of them saying, 'We are going to see the end.' The attack was evidently carefully planned, the moonlighters firing 'altogether,' and pausing between the volleys 'as if they were waiting for the word of command.' It is thought that some 25 shots were fired before the moonlighters dispersed, and in less than 10 minutes afterwards the two constables, representing the patrol always on the farm, arrived from a herd's house upon the scene. They 'dashed into the shrubbery,' but 'the lads dashed over the ditches and ran away,' the constables firing at them. 'The lads,' as my informant called the moonlighters, met another patrol hurrying up, and shots were again exchanged. But of what use in such a case is the weapon of a constable in Ireland? He carries a short rifle sighted up to 2,000 yards. Far more effective would be an ordinary shot-gun, which would give him a chance in a fight. Sergeant McEvoy showed me round the house. In the first place, I should mention that an attempt was made to burn it in June, 1906. Sacking soaked in paraffin, with resin on it, had been placed in 15 rooms and set on fire. About midnight the police fortunately discovered and extinguished the fire. The charred floors may still be seen. About £60 compensation was paid by the authorities.

"On examination of the exterior of the house, which looked as if it had withstood a siege, I saw on the front the marks of three bullets and the patterns of five cartridges, one window with panes broken by a bullet and a cartridge, another with panes broken by two cartridges, and a third with a pane broken by one cartridge. On the left side of the house, as you face the door, I saw the marks of one bullet and of one cartridge, one window with a pane broken by a bullet, and another with panes broken by four cartridges. On the right side of the house, I saw the mark of one bullet on the wall and of another through a wooden shutter. The latter bullet had been found. Six empty cartridge cases were also found; but their ordinary type will be of little use for identification. I state these facts in order to give people in England and Scotland an idea of the state of Ireland. No arrest has yet been made in connection with the outrage on Lord Ashtown, and I expect that the moonlighters at Athenry will escape. I do not know what may have been the object of this last outrage. Probably it was to avenge the evictions of

40 years ago, or to suppress grazing, against which there is local prejudice, or to reduce the value of the property, and thus to force a sale at a ruinous price. People ask me, why did the Government not proclaim the disturbed counties before now? Why do they rake up now an Act of William IV. for the restoration of law and order? Why do they not use the powers of the so-called Coercion Act? Why do they not use the powers of the Peace Preservation Act? These conundrums are vexing. One answer suggested to me as to the old Act is this—namely, that the extra charge for police in Ireland, &c., will be paid out of the Consolidated Fund; in other words, that the proclaimed counties will not pay for the cost, which will be borne by the British taxpayer. Loyalists cannot understand why the King's writ should not run naturally in Ireland, as elsewhere. The country, at all events around Galway, is now full of firearms, ready for outrages. Ten cases of firearms have recently been distributed between Galway and Headford, about 15 miles to the north, and every man can possess a gun merely on the payment of 10s. for a licence. Unless prompt action is taken there will be more trouble soon; for, as my informant at Craughwell said, 'they are a bad lot about here.'

An Irish "Cattle-Drive."

The following interesting account of an Irish "cattle-drive" appears in "The Times" of September 17:—

"A correspondent writes:—On the morning of June 28, two cases of cattle-driving occurred in the North Riding of Tipperary, on the borders of King's County. The victims were Messrs. D. and B. Kenny, who had incurred the displeasure of the local National League by taking grazing lands. About 5 a.m. the 'drivers' were mustered, almost every house in the district, except those of Protestants, being called upon to send representatives. Doubtless many were reluctant to go, but dared not refuse. The drivers arrived at Mr. D. Kenny's farm at Lisnagower about 6 a.m., where they were confronted by that gentleman and about 11 police of the Royal Irish Constabulary, who had got information about what was going on. The crowd numbered between 200 and 300, and proceeded to force the cattle out on to the public road, in spite of the remonstrances of the owner and of the police, who informed the leaders of the movement that they were acting illegally. The cattle were then driven about two miles to Ballingarry, to the private residence of Mr. Kenny, where the drivers went through the form of giving them up to the owner. The land from which the cattle were driven belongs to a Mr. Robinson, who has a residence adjoining it. He has let the residence for a short term, but, in case he returns to reside there, he wishes to retain the option of taking up the land again, and for this reason he let it to Mr. Kenny upon the '11-months system' as a temporary convenience. On the same day, about the same time, Mr. B. Kenny's cattle, sheep, and horses were being driven off lands at Springpark, about a mile distant from the scene of the drive already described. After due consideration, the authorities issued summonses against 27 of the 'drivers' for unlawful assembly. The cases were due to be heard at the next petty sessions,

at Borrisokane, on August 7. The usual number of magistrates attending these petty sessions is about six ; but on that occasion 14 were present, the majority of whom had never attended there before, and who, in some cases, belonged to other petty sessions districts. The case of Mr. D. Kenny was alone gone into at that sitting, and, after a protracted hearing, the result was that the Bench was equally divided, and the cases were adjourned to the following month. On the next Court-day, September 4, no less than 18 magistrates attended, and the cases were gone into, with the result that a majority of the Bench decided to refuse informations in both cases, so that as far as local justice is concerned the parties escape scot-free, although the facts were admitted and the only plea put forward by the drivers' counsel was that the Messrs. Kenny had their remedy in a civil action. A local paper, commenting on the constitution of the Bench on the latter occasion, says that it consisted of 11 Nationalists and seven Unionists ; and in Ireland these questions are decided more by politics than by law. The first of these Court-days (August 7) was made the occasion of a great anti-grazing demonstration. Numerous bands, with banners, paraded and large contingents came from all the surrounding districts. Three members of Parliament were present, and the crowd was estimated at from 4,000 to 5,000. Violent speeches were delivered, and it was only through the exertions of the Roman Catholic clergy, who were present in force, that a collision with the police (who numbered less than 200) was prevented. On the second occasion (September 4) another demonstration was organised, and the same programme carried out. At the close of the Court, all the magistrates who were supposed to be in favour of sending the cases for trial met with a very hostile reception. Thus ends the matter as far as the local Court is concerned. The Attorney-General now has all the information before him, and it seems he can send the cases forward for trial at the assizes should he think fit ; if he does not do so the case would appear to be closed, and the 'drivers' must be congratulated on their immunity from any unpleasant consequences. The above is a simple and true account of a 'drive,' not in the disturbed West, but in a district hitherto remarkable for its peaceful and industrious character. The illegal action of the 'drive' (for the Judges have declared such acts illegal) and the subsequent treatment of the cases in a local Court of justice are a fair object-lesson and give some idea as to what might be expected under Home Rule, and as such may serve to interest the British public."

The Belfast Constabulary.

The gravity of the revolt among the Royal Irish Constabulary at Belfast during the recent riots cannot be minimised or overlooked. That hundreds of men wearing the King's uniform should have deserted their posts at a critical moment and should have assembled, in open defiance of superior orders, to clamour for increased pay and privileges constitutes something very like mutiny in the presence of the enemy. The incident is now closed and proper punishments have been awarded ; we may therefore take stock of the whole situation and of its lesson. For the police it may be urged that no notice has been taken of the recom-

mendations made in their favour by the last Commission, albeit the Inspector-General supported and the Government accepted them. Again, since the reduction of the police force and the advent of a Radical Government to power, the R.I.C. have been hideously overworked in trying to cope with the ever-increasing disturbances throughout large areas in Ireland; therefore the letters and resolutions of sympathy which reached the Belfast mutineers from their comrades in the South and West of Ireland. Added to the deaf ear turned to the police grievances, the Constabulary have been plainly told not to expect any backing from the present Government, and their vigorous efforts to deal with disturbance have been persistently snubbed from headquarters. Their position, therefore, which is always dangerous, has now become ridiculous; malefactors whom they arrest red-handed are invariably let off, the policemen is publicly hooted for his pains, and the Government "love to have it so." In Belfast the police have to endure the constant sight of seditious leaflets being distributed from door to door, commanding no "patriot" to join the King's Army or Navy or Constabulary, and charging those forces with outrageous crimes against morality. They are treated as lepers by the Gaelic League and Sinn Féin, and—whilst they are responsible for law and order—they see Republican clubs and newspapers founded and thriving, yet unheeded by Government.

Intensely, then, as we regret the course of action which was pursued, yet we must fully admit that the police grievances are real, and that they have good claims to worthier recognition at the hands of the present Government.

A Frank Avowal.

Mr. John Redmond, at Longford on September 15, denied the Bishop of Kilmore's statement that in one district in Ireland Protestants are afraid to leave their houses on Sunday and go to church, and he challenged him to name the place. Mr. Redmond also said that if he finds the information accurate he will go down and prevent such a thing happening. Unionists have often placed the responsibility for much of the boycotting and crime in Ireland on the Nationalist members of Parliament, who have repudiated it. Here, however, the leader of the party acknowledges his power to put a stop to intimidation when he likes. Unionists will not overlook the significance of this avowal.

The Power of the League.

Unionist speakers and writers who want an illustration of the power of the United Irish League in Nationalist Ireland cannot find a better than the strange case of Mr. Smyth, M.P.

Mr. Smyth, M.P., the Nationalist "Patriot" at Westminster for South Leitrim, follows, in intervals of raging against British rule, graziers, and grabbers, the more prosaic, and more remunerative, occupation of an auctioneer. Incidentally, "patriotic" Mr. Smyth, M.P., sold some meadows belonging to an "obnoxious landlord," the sale of which had been boycotted by the League. To answer this charge he was cited to appear before the Carrick-on-Shannon Branch of the League.

It is unnecessary to go into details. The report of the meeting occupies more than six columns of the local Nationalist paper ("Roscommon Herald," September 14). Considerable heat was engendered

during the discussion, and disorder was frequent. One individual, unable to enter the building, pushed his head through the glass window, "cutting himself severely," and addressing his Parliamentary representative, said, "You d—— hedgehog, it is not all over with you yet." This incident may be taken as a sample of the proceedings, which resulted in an apology from Mr. Smyth, and a promise not to offend again. "If I have done wrong," he is reported, "I am sorry, and I do not want to have anything to do with the landlords or their sales; but there should be no trafficking with them either."

"Peaceful persuasion."

The following extract is a formidable witness to the truth of our constant assertion that the tyranny of the United Irish League is exercised even in ordinary affairs of everyday life in Ireland:—

"A meeting of the Kilbarry Branch of the United Irish League was held yesterday for the purpose of electing a new committee and officers for the ensuing year.

"The Chairman (the Rev. Father Reilly), in the course of his remarks, said that as evidence of the power of the League he was very glad to say that a very important gentleman in the neighbourhood had promised that he would not take land on the Marchioness of Winchester's place next year. He spoke to him, they had a nice conversation, and they parted on friendly terms, and he promised that he would not go against the wishes of the people and, as far as he was concerned, would not interfere with the land. He referred to Mr. John Finnegan, Wilkinstown.

"The rev. chairman then alluded to the recent Oristown meeting, and read the following letter, which he said was most important:—

"3, Upper Sackville Street, Dublin,

"September 26, 1907.

"DEAR SIR,—Seeing a notice in the 'Meath Chronicle' of Saturday, September 21, sent to me by someone, and the meeting marked: 'United Irish League, Oristown—on the motion of Mr. M'Hugh—That the tenant evicted on the Williamstown estate be re-instated in his former holding—kindly say if you mean the Williamstown House and lands that is up for sale on October 2, by public auction. I have already made an offer for same—one 12 months ago and one only two weeks past. If I bought the place I intended to live there and give employment about the neighbourhood. Being a Land Leaguer and a hot Home Ruler, I would not take any place under a cloud. I have offered £2,000 for the estate. I heard that Dr. Sparrow was turned out for not paying his rent on the 11 months' system, he being only a few years there and spent no money in improvements. I do not think he comes under the Evicted Tenants Act. Anyhow, if any unpleasantness exists about the place in question I will not be a purchaser. I will thank you to let me know if the League has any objections.—Yours truly,

"J. M'DOWELL."

Lord Aberdeen's Gentle Rebuke.

Speaking at Waterford on September 4, Lord Aberdeen referred to the outrages at present rampant in various parts of Ireland. He said:—

“There is no doubt that at present a very active spirit is moving in that direction. It manifests itself in various degrees. In some cases this anxiety to provide occupation takes the form which those who are interested in the administration of the law cannot afford to pass over. We feel great sympathy for those who had to exercise so much patience in regard to the measures for the industrial betterment of Ireland. But men in all positions of responsibility and influence may well urge and entreat that there may be an exercise of still further patience, because that will be right policy, and the one which is quite consistent with the most earnest and active endeavours to promote the remedial measures being largely carried out.”—*“Daily Express,”* September 5.

This is the reply of the Government to those Nationalist M.P.'s and others who have incited the people to outrage and riot. The severest rebuke the Lord Lieutenant can find for their conduct is to urge them to have “further patience.” Not a word in denunciation of their threats and deeds, only a lament that the administration “cannot afford to pass over” their illegalities. Such feeble conduct is merely inciting the Nationalists to renewed efforts.

The Estates Commissioners' Warning.

The Estates Commissioners, more than Mr. Birrell, have evidently taken to heart the outrages which the Irish Nationalists have incited their followers to commit in order to render the land they covet idle and useless to its present holders. Concluding a letter to the Kells Rural District Council, which had drawn attention to the amount of untenanted and non-residential land in the district and urging its purchase and distribution in holdings of various sizes, the Estates Commissioners say:—

“Any attempt by the people of the district to remove by illegal means obstacles which in their view may exist to the carrying out of the policy of the Commissioners can only result in hampering and delaying the proceedings of the Commissioners from purchasing any land in the district, and will be a sufficient reason for their not giving any portion of such lands as they may purchase to any of the persons who are known to have resorted to such conduct.”—*“Irish Times,”* September 26.

“The Freeman's Journal” is also beside itself with rage at this suggested step in the interest of justice and public peace. “Amateur Coercion” it styles the decision. “The Coercion Courts were equitable and constitutional by comparison” is another phrase from which it is clear that Irish Nationalist opinion has greater regard for organised intimidation than for freedom.

Archbishop Walsh on the Nationalists.

At a meeting of the Mid-Tipperary Executive U.I.L., a resolution was unanimously passed respectfully asking his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin to invite Messrs. J. E. Redmond, John Dillon, Wm. O'Brien,

and T. M. Healy, to a conference with a view to settling the differences which existed amongst them, and so help in bringing about harmony in the Nationalist ranks.

In reply his Grace wrote as follows :—

“ Archbishop’s House, Dublin

“ 8th August, 1907.

“ Dear Sir,—Your letter of the 26th of July was sent to a wrong address, and consequently was somewhat delayed in reaching me.

“ As to the suggestion made in it, I regret to have to express my conviction that no intervention of mine could be of any real help towards putting an end to the present lamentable state of our public affairs.

“ For some time past I have found it impossible to fall in with a line of action which I could not but regard as in great measure responsible for the disunion, and for the apathy resulting from disunion, that exists in the country. I have consequently felt myself debarred from being free to give to the Parliamentary party even the moderate measure of practical support which, moderate as it was, I had previously felt it a duty as well as a pleasure to give.

“ You will see then that I am not in a position to act as you suggest. Possibly someone more or less in touch with the party might intervene with effect. But as to this, knowing nothing of the views of those by whom the action of the party is guided, I can form no opinion.

“ I am, dear Sir, your faithful servant,

“ WILLIAM J. WALSH,

“ Archbishop of Dublin.”

The Cardinal’s Snub.

To a request of the Tuam District Council to heal the differences among the Irish Nationalist leaders, Cardinal Logue has replied as follows :—

Ara Coeli, Armagh,

Sept. 10, 1907.

DEAR SIR,

I beg to acknowledge, with sincere thanks, the copy of a resolution passed by the Tuam District Council, which you have kindly forwarded to me.

In reply to the resolutions, I can only say that I should be most happy to do anything which lies in my power to promote unity and harmony amongst the Irish Nationalist members of Parliament, as I feel convinced that their bickerings are terribly prejudicial to the interests of the country. I could not, however, place myself in the awkward position of volunteering my mediation in the matter, with the likelihood of having my interference in their disputes resented, and possibly repudiated by the larger section of the party. Hence, unless I be invited to take action in the matter, I can only look on helplessly, like everyone else interested in the welfare of the country, at the ruin which is being wrought by dissension.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,



MICHAEL CARD. LOGUE.

Mr. Redmond, at Longford (September 15), referred to Cardinal Logue's letter, and endeavoured to put the obvious reference on other shoulders. He said :—

"I read a public letter coming down in the train written by his Eminence, Cardinal Logue. In that letter he, in weighty words, called for a cessation of bickering among Irish National members, and with all my heart I re-echo his words. I hope his words will have some effect with the bickerers. They have no application to my colleagues in the Irish Parliamentary Party. The Irish Party is a body of 70 or 80 members who are bound together by a Parliamentary pledge, and I say that these men are united in policy and in action, and that amongst them there is no bickering. Bickering is outside our ranks, and I sincerely hope that his Eminence's counsel will have some effect upon the bickerers and disunionists."

A "Bickerer."

The speech of Mr. Samuel Young, M.P. for East Cavan, has created a good deal of interest. To begin with, Mr. Young is not a politician and agitator by profession, as are so many of Mr. Redmond's colleagues: he is a "solid" man—a Belfast distiller. Speaking at Ballyjamesduff on September 8, Mr. Young said :—

"He did not think Ireland could succeed by violence in word or action. She was too weak. . . England was too powerful to be intimidated by bluster, and would not submit to be bullied. . .

"Should not the Irish people accept assistance from any quarter, though it might not be so strong or so well directed as the Parliamentary Party would like? Above all, should assistance not be gratefully accepted from that influential Party in Ireland, who worked so powerfully for Home Rule by instalments, call them if they liked Devolutionists? . . .

"Might there not be a clearer definition of what they wanted? There were not a few in England and Ireland who would assert that they wanted separation. That was, that they wanted their own King, their own Army and Navy, their own Customs and Excise. That surely would be madness, and where it was believed must operate against them. The fact was that we wanted greater union with the people of Great Britain, who had had a long trial at the government of this country and had sadly failed. They wanted a Parliament in Ireland with delegated authority to manage all purely Irish affairs, which they had the ability and the disposition to undertake. They did not want so much separation as had been granted to Canada, or the Australian Colonies. They wanted the King of England to be their King, the Army and Navy to be their Army and Navy, and to contribute their full share of men to the forces, and they wanted the Excise and Customs to obtain alike over the Three Kingdoms. . . If those, their desires, were conceded, he could see no reason why they should not glory in British arms and in everything that pertained to the greatness of that Empire."—
"Freeman," September 10.

All this is rank blasphemy and treason to Mr. Redmond and his "united" Party. Unionists will await with interest the punishment to be inflicted on Mr. Young for overthrowing his leader.

Another "Bickerer."

Mr. William O'Brien has "kept silence even from good words" for the past six months. We believe that he has been travelling in the Holy Land. He has now returned, and has already addressed an audience of 10,000 people at Cork. We extract the following gems from his speech dealing with the National and Parliamentary situation:—

"I return to find that they (the Nationalist party) have not only damned Home Rule for this Parliament, and possibly for the Parliament after it, but they have led the Irish people into the ridiculous position of having saved the House of Lords the trouble, and damned Home Rule by their own will and deed, under a total misapprehension of the facts."

* * * * *

"They had heard talk of Boer Home Rule as the minimum; but if ever they were to get Boer Home Rule as the minimum they must first show Boer commonsense as a minimum."

* * * * *

"How is it proposed to bring about these miracles? By means of a virile agitation, the only result of which up to the present moment has been to increase the numbers and pay of the Royal Irish Constabulary, an agitation that has not even the merits of courage, because Mr. Redmond hangs behind the skirts of Mr. Ginnell. . ."

And yet there are people, Mr. Redmond amongst the number, who think that the people of Great Britain can be bamboozled into imagining that the United Irish League in its coming winter campaign will speak for the Irish people!!

"United" Ireland.

On September 23 at the meeting of the Roscommon County Council, Mr. Hayden, M.P., unveiled a portrait of Mr. Davitt. In the course of the ceremony, a Mr. M'Greevy referred to the Irish Parliamentary Party as "a penny-in-the-slot affair, and the Directory in Dublin holds the key." Mr. Hayden, M.P., protested, and the chairman (Mr. John Fitzgibbon) ruled that Mr. M'Greevy must not be heard, and asked him to leave. At this point we fall back on the description of the ceremony as given by the local reporter in the "Roscommon Herald" (September 28):—

"Mr. Fitzgibbon now caught hold of Mr. M'Greevy, and pulled him towards the gallery.

"As soon as he did, the members of the Roscommon Trades and Labour Association present jumped down from the gallery.

"Mr. Fitzgibbon, assisted by Mr. Hayden, M.P., Mr. Denis Kelly, Mr. O'Connor, and Mr. O'Keeffe, held on to Mr. M'Greevy, and tried to force him towards the door, but in vain. Mr. Hayden now caught Mr. M'Greevy by the arm, but Mr. M'Greevy manfully held his corner. . .

"Mr. M'Greevy now wrung himself from Mr. Fitzgibbon and his aiders, and there was a great cheer.

"Mr. Finlay now made for Mr. Fitzgibbon, and a scene of indescribable uproar occurred.

"Mr. O'Connor, C.C., now raised his hand to strike Mr. Finlay, and Mr. George Geraghty, T.C., at once let bang at him and levelled him to the floor.

"Mr. Geraghty was forced through the door, and Mr. O'Connor, when he got up, dashed around the other door side. In the corridor a hand-to-hand encounter took place between Mr. Geraghty and Mr. O'Connor, the latter coming off second best.

"Mr. Finlay and Mr. Fitzgibbon continued the tussle.

"It may be here stated that Mr. George Black, V.P., Trade and Labour Association, went at the outset to Mr. M'Greevy's and Mr. Finlay's assistance, and fought in preventing Mr. M'Greevy being pushed through the door. . .

"Mr. Fitzgibbon, Mr. Hayden, M.P., and Mr. Kelly were at Mr. Finlay.

"Mr. Michael Noone had his fist raised to strike Mr. Hayden, when someone pulled him back.

"Mr. Black caught Mr. Kelly by the collar and pulled him away, and Mr. Kelly, begging for mercy, was let down lightly.

"Mr. Finlay, T.C., now came to the rescue of Mr. M'Greevy, and seizing Mr. Fitzgibbon by the throat, knocked him over one of the gallery seats, holding a firm grip of him.

"Mr. O'Keeffe, the accountant, caught Mr. Finlay's arm, and in a savage fashion twisted it.

"Mr. Finlay: 'Let me go, you bloody old ——' (uproar). The scene now at its height.

"Mr. Geraghty, as stated above, ran to Mr. Finlay's and Mr. M'Greevy's aid.

"In the encounter between Mr. Geraghty and Mr. O'Connor, the former came out with victory on his side. Mr. O'Connor having attacked him, was met by Mr. Geraghty with a right-hander, which reached Mr. O'Connor's jaw, and knocked him to the ground. Mr. O'Connor got up, and the attack was renewed. Again he was met by Mr. Geraghty, who again measured Mr. O'Connor on the right jaw, and blood began to flow from Mr. O'Connor's wounds. The third round was renewed, and Mr. Geraghty, with scientific activity, let blow after blow fall on Mr. O'Connor. The latter, although a powerful build of a man, was entirely cast in the shade, and all he could do was make vain efforts with his head in the 'pucking' style at Mr. Geraghty. On all occasions he was repulsed, and was compelled to retire to get his wounds dressed.

"Mr. Finlay continued to fight his corner against Mr. Fitzgibbon, Mr. Hayden, M.P., and Mr. O'Keeffe, and although held by the arm by Mr. O'Keeffe, he fought desperately. One thing is certain—if he had the use of both hands he would have beaten a dozen of those against him.

"It might here be stated that Mr. George Black, V.P., Trades and Labour Association, and Mr. Michael Noone, Secretary, fought their corners well.

"Mr. Fitzgibbon was compelled to retreat, and followed by Mr. Hayden, M.P., and others, took shelter near the accountant's office.

"Here the Trade and Labour men cheered again and again.

"Mr. Heverin, the Secretary of the County Council, ran down the stairs, and, full of excitement, entered the Petty Sessions Court, and called, 'Police! Police! Police!'

"At once Head Constable Mooney, followed by ten constables, could be seen flying up the stairs towards the scene of the row.

"Matters now became somewhat quiet.

* * * * *

"Chairman (to Mr. Finlay): 'You renegade!'

"Mr. Finlay: 'You cowardly dog!'

"Mr. Geraghty: 'He will go over to Manchester and purchase English shoddy, and then pose as a Nationalist.'

"Chairman: 'If you fight with a sweep you are sure to get dirty whether you win or lose. A pack of blackguards!'

The Chairman, we learn, had subsequently to beat a retreat on the car of a local grazier!

The Cardinal's Rebuke.

Mr. Redmond's telegram to the Irish Nationalists of Kirkdale recommending them to vote for the Socialist candidate was quickly answered by Cardinal Logue. Replying to addresses at the conclusion of the consecration of the new Bishop of Derry on September 29, the Cardinal, in the course of his speech, said:—

"I think it a very ominous thing when we find **the politicians of the country entering into an alliance with Socialism and Secularism under the pretence of securing Home Rule for Ireland.** Socialism, as it is preached on the Continent, and as it has commenced and begun to be preached in these countries, is simply irreligion and Atheism. Its policy is to banish God from the schools and from the hearts of the people. It may not have professed this even in England. The great body of the Socialists may not have gone so far, still, according to some of their leaders, they go in for Secularism, which means putting God out of the schools, and if you put God out of the schools you will soon put him out of the hearts of the whole nation. Hence I would enter into no alliance with these people, not even for the lip service which they give to Home Rule. . . . That is not the way to Home Rule. It is a way which is not blessed by God, and a way which is not blessed by God cannot end in success. Our people, therefore, should keep their eyes open and take care that they do not, **by any influence whatsoever,** be induced to make common cause with these people. . . . I mention these matters because I have a fear, from something I see, something that has occurred, that **our people, especially in England, are being dragged into the idea that in voting for those professed Communists they are promoting the cause of Home Rule.**"—"Freeman's Journal," September 30.

A Priest's Courage.

We can congratulate the Rev. John Flatley, of Claversland, on the courage which allowed him to speak out his mind to the Congested Districts Commission, sitting at Leenane, Co. Galway, on September 18. He wished—

"To call the special attention of the Commissioners to the system of living on credit and paying exorbitant prices for the goods supplied by the gombeen men. The man who was in debt to the

shopkeeper was a slave to him, and elected the county and district councillors to every position. That condition was producing the most frightful results. The district and county councils to a large extent were worked entirely in the interests of the shopkeepers. Another bad thing in the county was that they had a very low class of magistrates. They had 10 or 12 magistrates who were provision dealers. The magistrates utilised—shamefully utilised—the Bench for the purpose of promoting their business. It was quite common for the magistrates to back out their own customers, not in a shame-faced sort of way, but in the most flagrant manner, to better their own business. There was tremendous intriguing and canvassing going on for years upon years, all in support of their customers. It was a very well-known fact, of magistrates going to the length of coaching witnesses as to the evidence that they were to give before the court. It was a common practice to influence drunken doctors who were to give evidence to tend to make light the charge in assault cases. . . . Complaints were made to him of how objectionable it was for magistrates to sit on the Bench with men who were fed with whisky for three weeks before a case came on. A magistrate had to adjourn the Court to a certain day because his fellow magistrate was drunk in court. The County Court Judge had to warn a magistrate on the Bench with him for his drunken interruptions of the business of the Court. All that arose from the fact that the people who live on credit were the slaves of the shopkeepers.”—“Belfast News Letter,” September 20.

Such is the condition of Nationalist Ireland, as described by one who has spent 37 years in daily intercourse with the inhabitants. That he has braved the tyranny of the United Irish League is as much to his credit as it is to the discredit of Mr. Redmond and the League to allow so sorry a state to continue.

Poor Mr. Birrell.

Mr. Birrell, the Chief Secretary, speaking at Bristol on August 24 and dealing with the summary rejection of his Irish Council Bill by his Nationalist allies, was moved to express the opinion that “if all the rumours that reached him were true, one of the grounds of dissatisfaction with the Irish Council Bill was that the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church did not like its provisions.”—(“Belfast News Letter,” August 26.) And he went on to say that he thought “that even he might live to see the day” when the Irish Catholic Bishops “would wish they had an opportunity of considering his Bill.”

The comment of the Nationalist “Freeman’s Journal” upon this utterance lacked nothing in directness. “A good many foolish things,” it said (August 26), “about Irish affairs have been said by Irish Chief Secretaries, but **we do not remember anything quite so foolish as this !**”

• Poor Mr. Birrell.

Home Rule the Issue.

“The Daily News” (September 5) says :—

“The sooner Liberals realise that the logic of events has already inscribed Home Rule on the party programme at the next General Election the better it will be for Ireland.”

Unionists should not allow this frank confession to be forgotten.

"Home Rule not Dead."

The following extracts from Mr. Redmond's speeches show that Home Rule is not dead, as many Radicals would have us believe, and that Unionists must be ready to combat the evil:—

"Home Rule is not dead, and if the people and the Party take the advice that I shall give them this winter, next year will see Home Rule in the very forefront of all political problems, both in the English Parliament and in English constituencies."—Ballybofey, August 29.

"The overwhelming majority of the present Liberal party in the House of Commons are in favour of a measure of Home Rule for Ireland. . . The Labour party is united as one man with us."—Mansion House, September 4.

"Certainly the fate of that measure (Irish Council Bill) has shown the Government the impossibility of satisfying Ireland with anything short of Home Rule, and it has also made this certain, that Home Rule, and not Devolution, will be the Irish policy put before the electors at the next General Election."—Mansion House, September 4.

"It is our duty to take care to declare plainly to the Liberal party that when the election comes, Home Rule must be put into the front of their programme."—Mansion House, September 4.

"The immediate objective we ought to have in view at the present moment, and under the circumstances that have arisen, is to hasten the day of the General Election, and to take such steps as are necessary to make sure that when the General Election takes place, Home Rule—full Home Rule, not Devolution—will be in the forefront of the Liberal programme."—Longford, September 15.

Under Police Protection !

Pursuing his "virile" campaign, Mr. Redmond, on September 4, addressed a "ticket" meeting at the Dublin Mansion House. From the "Irish People" (September 7) we take the following descriptive account of certain incidents that occurred:—

"Mr. Redmond's meeting in Dublin was held under extraordinary circumstances. Several hundred men were brought from Belfast to act as chuckers-out, and every person claiming admission was closely scrutinised. The Mansion House was lined inside and outside with police. Any citizen who attempted to make his way into the building without having satisfied the Tin Pike Brigade that he was of the true colour was mercilessly bludgeoned. Mr. Redmond had to be smuggled into the place of meeting. About one-third of the audience were Sinn Feiners, and they interrupted the speakers frequently. But Mr. Devlin's squad of tin pikemen immediately pounced on any person making an interjection and dragged them out of the hall.

"Mr. Redmond's rising to speak was the signal for a hostile demonstration which lasted for some minutes, while the chuckers-out were at work in removing the interrupters. Outside the Mansion House an immense crowd, numbering several thousand people, gathered, and if it were not for the immense force of police which acted as garrison and bodyguard for Mr. Redmond, they would

have stormed the building. But being unable to find entrance into the hall, they held an impromptu meeting, which was addressed by several prominent Sinn Feiners from the steps of the Mansion House. Eventually the police dispersed the multitude, but excited crowds kept walking up and down outside the Mansion House in the hope of seeing Mr. Redmond when he emerged. But it was found expedient that that gentleman should not run the risk of a hostile reception, and he had to remain a prisoner in the Mansion House until a late hour in the morning."

"A Voice"

Mr. Redmond's speech at the Dublin Mansion House did not pass off without pertinent interruptions by "a voice," as the following examples show.

Mr. REDMOND: "Their population in the last 60 years had been diminished by one-half."

A VOICE: "So much for Parliamentaryism."

* * * * *

Mr. REDMOND: "In England, the Labour party was united as one man with them."

A VOICE: "What about Jarrow?"

* * * * *

Mr. REDMOND: "Ministers made that fatal mistake that they pledged themselves that no Home Rule Bill in the sense that Nationalists understood the phrase would be introduced this Parliament, and accordingly they introduced the Irish Council Bill."

A VOICE: "Supported by yourself."

* * * * *

Mr. REDMOND: "What he meant by work at the House of Commons was this——"

A VOICE: "Drinking champagne in the Lobby."

* * * * *

The above extracts are taken from the "Irish Times" report (September 5).

A "Laborious" Night!

Mr. Redmond, at Ballybofey, said:—

"All sorts of disgraceful and scandalous stories have been repeated with reference to the action of the Irish members in the House of Commons. I say that these stories are absolutely falsehoods. People talk of social relations between Irish members and British Liberals. For my part I have never in my life—and I say the same for my colleagues—I have never taken part in any social or political gathering either of Liberal or Tory in the House of Commons, and I say of Irish members, at this moment that they are spending laborious days and nights there working for Ireland, away from their homes and families, making sacrifices which few

people realise in this country, and it is disgraceful that any man should circulate, with reference to them, some stories that I have seen.”—“Freeman,” August 30.

Unfortunately, the following account of a “laborious” night spent by two Nationalist M.P.’s—Messrs. MacVeagh and John O’Connor—appeared in “The Times” (August 27):—

“The ‘Survivors of the all-night sittings’ of August 19 and 20, dined together at the House of Commons last night, among those present being Mr. Whiteley, Mr. J. A. Pease, Mr. Herbert Lewis, the Master of Elibank, Mr. Fuller, Captain Norton, and Mr. Whitley (Liberal Whips), Mr. H. W. Forster, and Mr. Pike Pease (Unionist Whips), and Messrs. Burns, Cavendish, Hobhouse, T. W. Russell, Ainsworth, G. Baring, W. Benn, Bowerman, Carr-Gomm, Clough, C. H. Corbett, Courthope, C. Duncan, Dunn, Fenwick, Gill, Goddard, C. L. Harmsworth, Haworth, A. Henderson, Henry, Higham, Illingworth, **MacVeagh**, Manfield, Markham, Nicholls, **John O’Connor**, Pearce, C. E. Price, Rainy, T. F. Richards, Silcock, A. Stanley, Whitehead, and W. T. Wilson. The *menu* for the occasion was something in the nature of a novelty, among the dishes being ‘Consommé Tortue à la Banbury,’ ‘Harengs aux Baleines Ecosais, Sauce Wason,’ ‘Gelée Lloyd-George,’ ‘Harcourts Verts petite culture,’ ‘Grouse de Hampstead Heath (Tué par M. Whiteley et Sir Hood),’ ‘Pêches Anglaises sucrées, sans impôt (Garanties par M. Jean Burns),’ ‘Moelles pain doré du Sud Afrique à la Chinois,’ ‘Dessert de 45 héros,’ and ‘**Gâteau (Gagne par M. Jeremie MacVeagh).**’ The wines were described as ‘Moselle Piesporter Cuvée Caisse Fermée Ministère de Finance. Ad Hoc,’ ‘Champagne Cuvée Dorsdors’ and ‘Porte! Porte! Dow’s 1878.’ The concluding line on the *menu* was ‘Prorogation—Le Roi le veult.’”

“Disaffected and Disloyal.”

In his Mansion House speech, Mr. Redmond said:—

“To-day it is an admitted fact that the overwhelming majority of the Irish people are thoroughly disaffected and disloyal to English rule.”

Englishmen will do well to bear this in mind when Irish Nationalists next want British financial assistance to solve their economic problems.

A New Departure.

At the Dublin Mansion House, Mr. Redmond announced a new departure. He said:—

“This you may take as assured—that the Irish National Question will be raised in the next Session by us, and in unmistakable fashion.”

This will be quite a new departure. So far during the present Parliament Mr. Redmond has omitted to raise the question of Home Rule, apparently through fear of inconveniencing his Radical friends.

Mr. Redmond, however, now announces that he is really going to begin—in five months’ time.

The Unionist Campaign.

From Mr. Redmond's reference to the Unionist campaign in Great Britain against Irish Home Rule, it is evident that much good has been done in placing before the electors the danger and disgrace attached to the Nationalist demand. The Irish Nationalist "leader" said:—

"First of all, it is an undoubted fact that the bitter hostility to Home Rule, which swayed so many of the people of England 20 years ago, is absolutely dead. Within the last few months vigorous and most costly efforts were made by the Unionists of this country to rouse an anti-Irish campaign in Great Britain by speeches, by the circulation of lying literature, and by all the machinery which was well known 20 years ago—by the circulation of bogus stories, of bogus outrages and so forth—and this campaign fell absolutely flat and was an absolute failure."—Mansion House, September 4. ("Freeman's Journal," September 5.)

Beyond pointing out that every one of Mr. Redmond's statements are inaccurate, with the exception of that stating the existence of the campaign, it is unnecessary to refer to the matter further, as Mr. Redmond has effectually disproved his own words.

Later in his speech at the Mansion House he said:—

"The time is ripe for the opening and continuing of a propaganda in Great Britain. I believe we must take the field against the traducers of our country, not by speeches alone, but by literature."

And at Wicklow (September 29), again referring to Unionist work, he said:—

"We must try and meet that campaign by a propaganda, not only of speaking, but of literature in England."—"Freeman," September 30.

We would ask Mr. Redmond, as "hostility to Home Rule is dead in England," and the Unionist campaign is "an absolute failure," why he finds that he **must** begin a counter propaganda? It cannot be necessary, and, with the funds falling off, it seems strange that he should indulge in useless expense.

We await his reply with interest. Meanwhile, Unionists will rejoice at the opportunity to be given them of yet more fully exposing the danger, hypocrisy, and arrogance of Irish Nationalism.

Conclusive Advice.

At Portumna (October 6) Mr. Redmond had something to say about the much-promised Land Bill to which he says the Government stand pledged. The principal proposal in the Bill is to be universal compulsory purchase. Now, says Mr. Redmond, whether it is or is not passed "depends on no one except yourselves." By that he meant "strong and determined agitation" ("Freeman," October 7). Should the Government fail to keep their word, "they would make the government of Ireland impossible." Should Ireland be disturbed during the coming winter, there will be no difficulty after this utterance in fixing the responsibility upon the right shoulders. For this purpose Mr. Redmond's public advice will prove conclusive.

Agitators thank Agitators.

Mr. William J. Maloney, in a letter from the "Egyptian Standard" office, writes as follows to the "Freeman's Journal" (August 13):—

"Permit me to record in your columns the gratitude of the Egyptian Nationalists for the generous and valuable support given by the Irish party in the House of Commons to the struggle which we are at present carrying on for the independence of Egypt."

There is much more in the same strain. The Egyptian "patriots'" expression of gratitude to the Irish "patriots" is a valuable illustration to British electors. It shows that traitors and agitators look to the Irish Nationalists to do their dirty work for them in the House of Commons—and are not disappointed.

The Radical party will not thank Mr. Maloney for disclosing the close connection of their allies at Westminster with the anti-British party at Cairo.

British electors would do well to think over what may possibly turn out to be the making of a triple alliance between British Radicals, Irish Nationalists, and Egyptian Nationalists. The combination would undoubtedly please those strange countrymen of ours whose fixed belief is that their country is always in the wrong.

How Ireland has benefited.

Those who seek a convincing reply to the Nationalist cry that Great Britain has done nothing for Ireland will find it thoughtfully provided by Mr. Crilly, the Secretary of the United Irish League of Great Britain.

Interviewed by a "Westminster Gazette" representative with reference to the merits of the Irish Parliamentary party, Mr. Crilly said:—

"The party during the period has succeeded in carrying reforms which have completely changed for the better the whole conditions of life in Ireland. Take the extension of local government to the counties, by which the detestable Grand Jury system was abolished; the various Land Acts; the latest Labourers Act, which makes provision for the building of 35,000 new cottages; the Town Tenants Act, protecting a large number of tenants from the rapacity of landlords; and the Evicted Tenants Act, which, if not satisfactory, is at least something to go on with..."

"The Land Act of 1881 reduced rents by £2,059,000; the Arrears Act, two years later, wiped completely out £2,000,000 of arrears. Under the Land Purchase Acts over £40,000,000 has been advanced for the purchase of Irish land, and the Act of 1903 provided for a further advance of £112,000,000. Then the Labourers Act involved the expenditure of £4,650,000 in the provision of cottages for labourers. Light railways, migration, and agricultural Acts have caused, in transferring tenants to richer lands and developing agriculture, an outlay of £3,816,000. These make the substantial total of £164,525,000 secured by the Irish party and its policy from 1879 to 1903, for the improvement of the social conditions of Ireland..."—
"Westminster Gazette," September 16.

Party Funds fall off.

Mr. Redmond must look to his Exchequer, or the “patriots” will soon be grumbling.

The total amount of subscriptions received on behalf of the United Irish Parliamentary Fund up to October 4 during the year 1907 was £5,900.

During the same period of 1906, the amount was £9,783.

There is a decrease of £3,883 for Mr. Redmond to consider.

No doubt we shall hear of renewed exertions on the part of the priests, and urgent demands for assistance from the United States.

Whether their efforts will be successful is uncertain.

The *entente cordiale* with the Government and the fiasco of the Irish Council Bill have not added to Mr. Redmond's reputation, and there is an undercurrent of resentment in Nationalist ranks.

We strongly suspect that the Irish Parliamentary party are being found out.

A Dwindling Concern.

Some idea of the popularity and enthusiasm for the Irish Parliamentary party may be gained from a glance at the position in the Market of the shares of its organ, “The Freeman's Journal.”

ORDINARY SHARES (August 29)				27	$\frac{7}{8}$
Past prices have been :—					
1901	5	$\frac{3}{8}$	1904	5	$\frac{13}{16}$
1902	5	$\frac{5}{8}$	1905	5	$\frac{7}{8}$
1903	5	$\frac{7}{8}$	1906	5	$\frac{5}{15}$
PREFERENCE SHARES—offered (ineffectually)				47	$\frac{7}{8}$
Past prices :—					
1901	5	$\frac{3}{4}$	1904	5	$\frac{13}{16}$
1902	5	$\frac{5}{8}$	1905	5	$\frac{7}{8}$
1903	5	$\frac{7}{8}$	1906	5	$\frac{5}{16}$

Since 1904 the depreciation has been—

Ordinary Shares	£45,000
Preference Shares	10,000

There is thus a depreciation of £55,000 in three years, not reckoning the fall in Debenture Shares.

Nationalist trust in Mr. Redmond's policy does not apparently extend to finance.

* * * * *

We understand that Mr. McSweeney, of “The Weekly Freeman,” taking time by the forelock, has secured a Government Inspectorship under the Local Government Board (Ireland).

LIFE IN IRELAND.

A Diary of Outrages under Radical Rule.

"The condition of Ireland as a whole was very satisfactory."—Prime Minister, House of Commons, May 15.

"It is the duty of the people of Ireland to take the ordinary steps to protect their own property."—Chief Secretary, House of Commons, June 12.

"In our opinion the driving of cattle cannot, of itself, be considered a crime of a very serious nature."—Lord Denman, speaking for the Government, House of Lords, June 4.

[The following entries are confined to those outrages, &c., which have been admitted by Mr. Birrell since June 26, in reply to questions in the House of Commons.

The date at the end of each entry is the date of Mr. Birrell's answer in the House of Commons.]

June 1—Between June 1, 1906, and June 1, 1907, 271 agrarian outrages occurred; in only 35 cases were arrests made or summonses issued. *July 3.*

June 16—Banagher, King's County.—Mr. Reddy, J.P., M.P., at a meeting advised the people to make Burnett sell certain lands and to make him shiver in his shoes. *June 27.*

[Mr. Reddy has since been removed from the Bench.]

June 17—Ballinaglera, Co. Leitrim.—Two men arrested for assaulting the son of Brady, a boycotted caretaker. *June 26.*

[The accused have been returned for trial at the Assizes on the motion of the Attorney-General, the local magistrates having refused.]

June 22—Ballina.—Mr. Peter Kelly's cattle driven off. *July 2.*

[Six weeks before the cattle were also driven off.]

June 22—Killafin, Gort.—House of Mr. Donohue fired into. *July 2.*

June 23—Hollypark, Athenry.—House of Mr. Blake fired into. *July 2.*

June 25—Birr, King's County.—Mr. Cherry admits that local branch of the United Irish League have sent letters to local farmers requesting them to give up their farms. *June 25.*

[One of the farmers has had his cattle driven; and two of the farmers have been intimidated into surrender.]

June 28—Borrisokane, Co. Tipperary.—Crowd of 250 overpower the police and drive the cattle off two farms. *July 3.*

June 28—Fohenagh, Co. Roscommon.—Mr. Payne is acknowledged by Mr. Birrell to be boycotted and to require police protection. *June 28.*

June 28—Birr, King's County.—Twenty policemen struck by stones whilst escorting prisoners to the railway station *en route* for prison: crowd have to be dispersed by a bâton charge. *July 3.*

July 1—Roscomroe, Co. Tipperary.—The Attorney-General, it is announced, refuses to proceed against 16 men for cattle driving, whose cases the local magistrates had adjourned four times. *July 1.*

[This is an incitement to magistrates to adjourn cases with a view to getting proceedings ultimately abandoned.]

July 3—Kanturk, Co. Cork.—Mr. Birrell acknowledges that “several special protection posts” exist in this district. *July 3.*

July 4—Leitrim Assizes.—For the third time the jury disagreed in the trial of eight men charged with unlawful assembly at Drumkeeran on July 7, 1906. *July 10.*

[A mob of 600 persons attacked two little boys aged seven and twelve (the sons of a boycotted caretaker) who had been 20 miles to get provisions.]

July 4—King’s County.—Mr. Birrell states that 22 extra police are stationed in the county to keep order. *July 4.*

July 7—Knocklong, Co. Limerick.—Twenty-seven additional police drafted into Knocklong to keep order. *July 10.*

[Mr. Cherry considers Knocklong to be in a “fairly peaceable condition.”]

July 8—Police Protection.—Mr. Birrell states that 50 persons are receiving constant protection of 123 policemen, and 166 are receiving patrol protection. *July 8.*

July 8—Disturbed Districts.—Mr. Birrell states that 1 district inspector, 3 head constables, and 310 men are on temporary service in the disturbed districts of Ireland. Men have been withdrawn for this purpose from 80 stations. *July 8.*

July 10—Hollypark, Athenry, Co. Galway.—Mr. Cherry, the Attorney-General, admits that threatening letters have been received by Mr. Blake, ordering him to give up a certain farm; and also by Mr. Blake’s servants ordering them to leave their situations. *July 10.*

[Mr. Blake’s house was fired into on June 23.]

July 11—Drumkeeran, Co. Leitrim.—Mr. Cherry acknowledges that eight persons are seriously boycotted. These persons have to go 12 miles to get their horses shod, 20 miles to get provisions, and 24 miles to dispose of their stock. *July 11.*

July 14—Ruan, Ennis, Co. Clare.—Police escorting a man under police protection fired upon. *July 18.*

July 15—Shooting Outrages.—Mr. Birrell states that 22 occurred during the three months ending June, 1907. *July 15.*

July 21—Bullaun, Co. Galway.—Thomas Corcoran fired at and severely wounded. *July 31.*

July 23—Mullaghboy, Co. Leitrim.—Postman attacked by three men, disguised as women, and robbed of five letters supposed to contain writs. *August 5.*

July 29—Loughrea, Co. Galway.—Crowd of 200 persons attempted to drive cattle off Mr. Persse’s farm. *August 7.*

August—Ballyshannon.—Gates removed from a farm, a thick stone wall knocked down, and the cattle driven off. *August 14.*

August 5—Ballindereen, Co. Galway.—Patrick Sheehan fired at when returning home from Galway on dark night. *August 14.*

[Patrick Sheehan’s house was fired into a year ago.]

August 5—Galway Assizes.—Mr. Cherry states that the cases of serious crime in 1906 and 1907 referred to by the Judge were as follows:—(The figures for 1906 are given first in each case)—Galway (E.R.), 26

and 63; Galway (W.R.), 13 and 32; Leitrim, 12 and 12; Roscommon, 13 and 16; Sligo, 20 and 14. *August 5.*

August 5—Summer Assizes.—Mr. Cherry states that of 167 persons who were returned for trial at the Summer Assizes, 3 were convicted, 31 acquitted; in the cases of 23 the jury disagreed, and as regards the remaining 110, the cases were postponed until the next Assizes. *August 5.*

August 13—Glenahira, Co. Waterford.—An attempt made to blow up Lord Ashtown. *August 15.*

[NOTE.—The following outrages, &c., are reported to have occurred since Parliament rose: and the details have been taken from the Irish daily and weekly press.]

August 15—Mountlake, near Newmarket, Co. Cork.—A party attacked the house of a farmer named McAuliffe, and fired several volleys into the house. A man named Cotter, who has purchased a piece of land in possession of McAuliffe, has been arrested.

August 19—Ballinameen.—A band turned out, accompanied by a large crowd, to prevent the letting of the Bella meadows, but they were stopped by the police at Mantua cross roads. Feeling, however, was so strong, that no one turned up to set or buy the meadows.

August 18—Newtownforbes, Longford.—Cattle-driving under the leadership of Mr. Farrell, M.P., was successfully carried out on the lands of Mr. A. Pearse at Moneylagan. The police succeeded in preventing Mr. A. W. Percival's cattle being driven out on to the road. At Mr. McCann's farm there was a severe encounter between the police and the crowd, fully 600 or 700 strong. The police were successful, and dispersed the crowd. After vainly trying to rally the men, Mr. McKenna, Mr. Farrell, and others addressed a large meeting in Newtownforbes.

August 28—Longford.—Mr. J. P. Farrell, M.P., and 15 others arrested and charged with unlawful assembly, for riot and disturbance in connection with cattle driving on Sunday, August 18. Accused were returned for trial at next Assizes.

August 28—Kilbarry.—182 sheep and cattle belonging to various farmers driven from the grazing lands. Mr. D. Sheehy, M.P., addressed a meeting on the advantages of the anti-grazing movement on the previous Sunday. No arrests.

August 28—Athenry.—Moonlighters attacked Monatigue House, the residence of Mr. McDonagh, with fire-arms. No arrests.

August 28—Oristown.—Twenty-six head of cattle scattered off lands of Miss Maria Reilly. This lady has since been terrorised into surrendering her farm.

August 29—Oristown.—Thirteen head of cattle, belonging to Mr. James Martin, were scattered.

August 29—Longford.—Seventeen men charged with assembling for riot and cattle-driving, near Longford. Returned for trial to next Assizes.

September 3—Kanturk, Co. Cork.—Two men, disguised, and armed with revolvers, held up a youth named O'Keefe, firing into his cart, smashing it, and threatening the boy's life. They then disappeared. No arrests.

September 4—Borrisokane Petty Sessions.—Twenty-seven men charged with unlawful assembly to drive cattle off grazing lands. The majority of magistrates declined to convict.

September 4—Macroom, Co. Cork.—Postman Leary attacked by a body of armed and disguised men, and forcibly deprived of the Mail bags. Letters believed to contain writs for non-payment of rents were discovered and destroyed. No arrests.

September 4—Killarney Petty Sessions.—Nine men prosecuted by the Crown for having assembled and driven cattle off Coulcuslough mountain. The majority of the magistrates declined to convict.

September 6—Ballintubber Petty Sessions.—Five women and two men prosecuted for breaches of the peace in connection with the anti-grazing movement. All but one were imprisoned for one month.

September 7—Dunsandle, Co. Galway.—The dwelling of Mr. Darcy (shepherd) stoned and fired into. No arrests.

September 8—Fenagh, Co. Leitrim.—Mr. Thomas F. Smyth, M.P., cited to appear before the Executive of the South Leitrim Branch of the U.I.L. for having auctioned some meadows for “an obnoxious landlord.” After a long and violent “trial,” Mr. Smyth, M.P., apologised to the League, and gave a guarantee that he would have nothing further to do with landlords, agents, or bailiffs. (“Irish Times,” September 10, 1907.)

September 8—Athboy, S. Meath.—Fifteen head of cattle scattered, property of T. Newman.

September 8—Athboy, S. Meath.—Eighteen head of cattle scattered, property of C. Ledwith.

September 8—Carnisle.—Twelve head of cattle scattered, property of A. Corrigan.

September 8—Crossakiel, Co. Meath.—Mr. Crofton Rotherham’s cattle turned out of a field on to the high-road, the gate having been smashed for the purpose.

September 8—Shanbally.—Mr. Colclough’s cattle driven off his farm. He applied to Clonmel Quarter Sessions for £50 compensation for loss.

September 8—Thomastown, Kells.—Cattle and sheep belonging to Mr. H. M. Dyas, scattered.

September 8—Walterstown.—A clean sweep was made of cattle from the lands of Miss Boshell, which are let for grazing.

September 8—Staffordstown.—Another drive about the same time took place here. The police have not been officially informed of these drives, as the victims are unwilling to incur displeasure by reporting.

September 11—Scallianstown.—The gates, posts, &c., were broken down, and fences damaged, to let the cattle loose on the farm of a tenant named Kearny.

September 14—Tobertynan.—Fifteen head of cattle, belonging to Mr. Beade, scattered. No arrests.

September 15—Pallaskenry, Limerick.—Mr. Henry Waller seriously wounded by gunshots from three men hiding in one of his father’s barns.

September 15—Longford.—Forty men armed with blackthorns, on their way to Mr. John Redmond's meeting at Longford, attacked the McCann, Pearse, and Percival ranches. The cattle were all driven off, and the police were unable to offer any resistance.

September 15—Ballivor.—Fourteen head of cattle scattered, the property of Mr. Carty of Portlester. No arrests.

September 17—Cornamuchlagh.—Serious encounter between police, carrying out evictions for non-payment of rent, and several hundred peasants armed with hay forks, &c.

September 21—Near Killarney.—The house of a farmer fired into by a number of men. No motive is assigned, and no arrests have been made for this outrage.

September 23—Riverville, near Loughrea.—Three shots fired into a shepherd's sleeping room. One bullet found. No arrests made.

September 23—Corofin District.—Three shots fired into the house of Farmer Casey, who occupies a farm which his neighbours want for small holdings.

September 23—Broadford, E. Clare.—Shopkeeper's house fired into; outrage attributed to a grass-land dispute.

September 24—Ballinamore Petty Sessions.—Eight men charged with unlawful assembly to disturb the peace at Carnamore. Magistrates were divided; case adjourned.

September 26—Ballintubber Petty Sessions.—Two men charged with assaulting certain members of the R.I.C. whilst in discharge of their duties. Each was fined £1.

THE EVICTED TENANTS ACT.

Short Notes on the Measure.

It is unnecessary to set out in full detail the amendments and complicated negotiations arising therefrom with respect to the Evicted Tenants Bill.

As the result of amendments inserted in the House of Lords, the Government agreed:—

- (1) To limit the operation of the Act to four years."
- (2) To allow an appeal on value to the Judicial Commissioner—Mr. Justice Wylie—sitting with two assessors.
- (3) And also an appeal to the Judge of Assize or to the High Court on mixed questions of fact and law.
- (4) To make it plain that land was not to be taken if by doing so damage would be done to other land of the same owner.
- (5) To limit the operation of the measure to 2,000 evicted tenants. (See below.)
- (6) To secure proper protection for the "planter" working his holding as a *bonâ fide* farmer. (See below.)
- (7) To reserve the sporting rights to the landlord when desired.

As regards the limit to 2,000 the Government at first refused to agree, and started an entirely new argument. Having until then protested that the limit might keep deserving tenants out, they turned completely round and argued that the limit would have the entirely opposite effect of including undeserving cases. Their argument was—there are roughly 2,000 tenants thought worthy of restoration: some may be reinstated by agreement outside the Act. Others will be reinstated by compulsion under the Act: their number will be less than 2,000. If 2,000 is inserted in the Act, it will be a standard to work up to for compulsory reinstatements, and undeserving cases will receive consideration.

The Government argument, if true, knocked the bottom out of the Bill. But the House of Lords rather doubted the accuracy of this new point, discovered at the last moment, and preferred to insist on their amendment.

As regards the "planter," the Government refused to agree to leave him undisturbed if he were "a *bonâ fide* tenant using or cultivating his holding as an ordinary farmer in a husbandlike manner." They were willing, however, to take the absolute discretion of disturbing the "planter" from the Estates Commissioners, and provide that the Judicial Commissioner must be a consenting party.

With "grim pertinacity," to use Mr. Birrell's phrase, the House of Lords refused in any way to sacrifice the *bonâ fide* "planter." "It meant," Mr. Birrell said, "the triumph of Lord Clanricarde"—a description seized upon with avidity by the Irish Nationalists; he, however, "yielded to superior force," as he was advised that the measure, even as amended, was "of very considerable value."—(Parl. Deb., August 26, col. 182.)

Mr. Birrell's ungraceful surrender was the less convincing, inasmuch as he had always maintained that the intentions of the Government and the Lords to preserve the deserving planter were the same. He said, in this very speech, that:—

"It was never contemplated by the Government that compulsory powers would be used for the purpose of turning out any *bonâ fide* farmer who was unwilling to accept the generous terms offered by the Bill."—August 26, col. 182.

That, too, described the House of Lords' position. The difference was only one of means; and the Lords were of opinion that their method better secured the end in view than the various methods brought forward by the Government.

Mr. Redmond's Outburst.

That the Government should have regard to fairness and justice over the Evicted Tenants Bill roused Mr. Redmond's anger. The Bill as amended, he declared, "would not be a fulfilment of that promise held out to Ireland, and certainly would not come as a message of peace or have any chance of settling the evicted tenants' question."—August 26, col. 190.

"The most serious" of all matters was that of the "planters." That these unfortunate men should be protected from the vengeance of the Nationalists meant, said Mr. Redmond, that "there could be no such thing as peace or an end to the land war in Ireland."

Mr. Redmond went on, in words which will be remembered, to incite his followers in Ireland to disorder and outrage. He said:—

"The moral for Ireland was that if she wanted to get next Session land legislation, if she desired to see the evicted tenants reinstated, if she desired to see the black spot of the Clanricarde estate, and other similar spots, wiped out in Ireland, if she desired to see the Land Act of 1903 amended . . . she would have to close up her ranks and make her movement sufficiently **strong and menacing** to overcome both the hon. members above the gangway (the Unionists) and the House of Lords. . .

"British members must not be surprised if Nationalists showed impatience when again they were thrown back from the prospect of redress and reform."—Parl. Deb., August 26, Vol. 182, col. 194-5.

Earlier in his speech he had brought the foul and wholly unfounded charge that "the action of the House of Lords and the landlord party in this House had been animated by the motive of wishing to see the Chief Secretary embroiled in the coming winter in trouble and turmoil in Ireland" (col. 192).

Putting these extracts together it is clear that Mr. Redmond hopes to make the Evicted Tenants question a stalking horse for disorder during the winter months. Unionists will see that the responsibility is placed on the right shoulders—those of Mr. Redmond and his colleagues.

Perhaps nothing was more remarkable in Mr. Redmond's outburst than his frequent attempts to dissociate his attack from the Government.

"He had not risen, however, for the purpose of attacking the Government. . ."

“He said he would not attack the Government, and he had not done so. . .” are two of his most frank references; others, little less direct, are to be found throughout his speech.

Yet we are told the Government have no understanding or alliance with the Irish Nationalists!

At Ballybofey, Mr. Redmond returned to the subject. He said:—

“They (the Opposition in the House of Lords) were obdurate on this up to last Monday (August 26). They withstood all the appeals made to them in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and it was not until the Irish party made their protest on last Monday—and I declared in the name of Ireland that if the Bill was carried in the shape in which it then stood I would come back here and set the heather on fire against these men—it was not until that protest and that warning was made, that the landlord party in the House of Lords succumbed . . . and thereby enabled me to tell you to-day that, so far as it goes at any rate, this Evicted Tenants Bill is a valuable Bill. But there is one blot in it of a most serious kind. This Bill applies no compulsion whatever to the planters. . .

“Ireland, in my opinion, will cover herself with disgrace if she tamely submits to such a provision [that for the protection of *bonâ fide* planters]. In the words of Mr. Birrell, the provision means the triumph of Lord Clanricarde, and I tell Lord Clanricarde, and I tell the House of Commons, that the last word in this contest rests not with them, but with the people of Ireland.”—“Freeman,” August 30.

Mr. Redmond's references to the surrender of the House of Lords is brag, pure and simple. It is not likely that the House of Lords would be coerced into doing what they considered unjust or unfair by any threats of the nominal leader of the Irish Nationalists.

His references to the “planter” are the more interesting as showing the bitterness Nationalists still have towards these men, and their anger at being balked of their revenge.

That this is to form a “grievance” of the Irish Nationalist campaign is clear from the prominence given to it by Mr. Redmond in his speeches. At Portumna on October 6, Mr. Redmond returned to the subject, with additional appropriateness afforded by the proximity of the Clanricarde estates. He said:—

“Their (the planters') lives cannot have been very happy ones, and if they now want to make victims of the evicted tenants on the Clanricarde estates, **their lives are not likely to be more happy in future. . .** Whether they agree to go or don't agree, **they have got to go.** And if they don't go it would be absurd for any man to hope that peace could be maintained in this district. If they refuse to go, here, at any rate, the land war will go on, and indeed I have no hesitation in saying that, under these circumstances, if there is refusal on their part, **peace in this district would be a dishonour** to this district and to Ireland. . . It is the duty of the whole countryside to come to the aid of the evicted tenants, and create such a movement as will let the House of Lords see that

it is beyond their power to exclude the evicted tenants of the Clanricarde and Lewis estates from justice.”—“Freeman,” October 7.

Mr. Ginnell seems to have a fairly promising pupil in Mr. Redmond, who thus openly incites people to disorder and violence in a district which even Mr. Birrell and his colleagues would have to be more than usually optimistic to describe as peaceful.

The following extracts from speeches by two of Mr. Redmond's underlings also bear out this contention:—

Mr. Cullinan, M.P., at Cahir on August 26, 1907:—

“So far as the Government was concerned there was no doubt that they had fulfilled their pledges honourably towards the evicted tenants. The measure, as originally introduced by Mr. Birrell, was a most satisfactory one, and would have settled the evicted tenants' question, but when it came before the House of Landlords that body showed their old spirit. . . They should now make it as uncomfortable as possible for every grabber and planter in the country. It was their duty to commence the fight on the same lines and in the same spirit as the old times.”—“Waterford Star,” August 31.

Mr. Sheehy, M.P., at Navan, said that the Bill:—

“Was practically stabbed by the landlord lords in England. What did that mean to them in Ireland? It meant that all over Ireland from that day until the evicted tenants were restored there would not be one hour's peace, one hour's comfort given to any grabber in Ireland.”—“Belfast News Letter,” August 27.

A Question of Honour.

For the guidance of those who may require the reasons which moved the House of Lords to insist on Parliament keeping its faith with the “planter”—the “new tenant” of the Evicted Tenants Act, the following will be useful.

It will be remembered that under Mr. Birrell's Bill, as brought before the House of Lords, the “new tenant” had to make up his mind whether he would agree to be migrated to an estate elsewhere which the Estates Commissioners offered him, or take compensation for being evicted and go.

These terms were harsher than those offered in 1894 by Mr. Morley. In his Bill it was set out that no new tenant could be disturbed without his consent, and his objection was an absolute end of proceedings.

From all parties promises had been made that the *bona fide* “new tenant” should be undisturbed. The Unionist Government of 1886-92 gave definite pledges that the planters should never be deserted.

On the Liberal side equally decided assurances were given. Sir Robert Reid (July 23, 1894) made it a special point that “no tenant can be disturbed under the Bill without his consent.”

Mr. Morley said (August 1, 1894) that he “could not look forward with equanimity to the Government carrying on an evicting campaign against new tenants.”

Coming to 1903 we find—

Mr. W. O'Brien said (June 29, 1903):—

“He did not propose any hostile action, or any compulsory action whatever against the new occupiers.

“He quite understood it was a point of honour with landlords not to abandon the men who enabled them to carry on the war.

“He recognised that some of these new occupiers had substantial interests in their holdings, and that it was possible they might elect to remain in them. In such cases there was nothing more to be said.”

On the same date Mr. Redmond said :—

“The number of these new tenants who were real *bona fide* agriculturists, working their farms as ordinary farmers, was comparatively few, and if they desired to continue in their holdings he would not give his sanction to any attempt compulsorily to get them out.”

And Mr. Dillon said :—

“The eviction of the present holders had not been demanded by the Nationalist members.”

Finally, in the House of Lords, on August 6, 1903, Lord Westmeath proposed an amendment which would have absolutely protected planter tenants by actually putting the surrender of planters' holdings outside the scope of even voluntary arrangements. Lord Lansdowne, in opposing the amendment, said :—

“He should be sorry to be a party to any arrangement which contemplated their abandonment or their extrusion from the holdings which they now occupied. He believed that view was universally accepted ; it was a policy which had been proclaimed by the party opposite, and by the party with which he was connected ; and he believed he was right in saying that, in another place, the Nationalist representatives of Ireland had formally intimated that it was their desire to discourage anything like the intimidation or persecution of these planter tenants.”

On the same occasion Lord Crewe said :—

“There were, no doubt, some of these planter tenants who were genuine, reputable farmers, and it would be a monstrous thing if such men were likely to be disturbed. He did not believe that any attempt would be made to do so.”

During the present Session (July 10) on a debate with regard to the evicted tenants, Lord Crewe said :—

“I think both Mr. Redmond and Mr. O'Brien dealt with it, and that they held the view which His Majesty's Government also holds, that where it is shown that a man is a *bona fide* farmer, working his farm to advantage and desiring to retain it, he certainly ought not to be dispossessed.”

So also we find Mr. Birrell saying (July 17) :—

“There were cases in which he agreed it would be a monstrous thing to turn out a tenant against his will if he were able to show that he and his family had lived for a period of years in perfect accord with their neighbours.”

Mr. Birrell, however, for a long time refused to insert a specific amendment into the Bill to carry out his words. He relied on the following words in Subsection 3 of Clause 1, “having regard to all the circumstances of the case, holding and district,” saying (July 17) :—

“The words of Sub-section 3 imposed on the Commissioners, or whoever the tribunal might be, the obligation to see that they did not turn out people who were carrying on the work of their farm in

such a way that there was no disturbance in the neighbourhood, no extra police or anything of that kind, and who were able to work the land properly and wisely."

Beyond that he refused to go at first, but later he offered to bring in the Judicial Commissioner to share the discretion of the Estates Commissioners.

There was also another point. The words referred to the "case, holding and district." The interpretation was especially important when the Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. Cherry), in the debate on July 17, disclosed what was in the mind of the Government. He asked:—"Was one man to be allowed to keep a whole county in turmoil, and call upon the Government for an army of police? There were cases in which one obstinate man was keeping the whole district in turmoil." There must be, he said, in his opinion, "some limit to which the State is put in providing protection for an unpopular man."

From the Attorney-General's speech, it was evident that the measure of a "new tenant's" fixity of tenure depended, not solely on his agricultural capabilities, but on the social instincts of his neighbours. If he was a popular man and a good farmer he might remain. If he had not lived down his unpopularity, no matter how good a farmer he was, out he would have to go.

Nationalists and Leaguers would not have hesitated to construe this speech into an expression of Government sympathy for their work of making it hot for the "planter." The position of "the obstinate man" would have been an unfortunate one; no matter how law-abiding he might be, no matter how properly and fitly he might be working his farm, unless his Nationalist neighbours were content to leave him unmolested, he was to be evicted in order to save the expense entailed by the police protecting him!

That was what the Government intended. Can it cause surprise that the House of Lords put a stop to this, and insisted on an honourable settlement of the question.

The Limit of 2,000.

With reference to the limit of 2,000 inserted in the Evicted Tenants Act, a brief consideration of the matter shows how strong was the case of the House of Lords. The amendment brought the measure into accordance with Mr. Birrell's specific statement, on its introduction, that "the limited purposes" of the Bill were "the re-instatement of those 2,000 scheduled or named persons compulsorily."

As the measure stood, it could have been used for the re-instatement of any number of people so long as they came within the description of "evicted tenants."

It did not limit the number to the specific 2,000 mentioned by Mr. Birrell; and the door was left open for the Commissioners to reconsider any of the 4,500 cases they had rejected. An immense amount of pressure would have been put upon the Commissioners to secure a re-hearing. The disappointed ones would have indulged in hope of ultimate success, and this prospect would not have tended to allay discontent and uncertainty. The evicted tenant would have cherished his desire of restoration; the "new tenant" would never have known whether he might not be turned out.

With the amendment inserted, the curtain has definitely been rung down. To the "new tenant" there is great relief; to the evicted tenant an end to false hopes. And in addition, the Estates Commissioners themselves will be free from an amount of pressure which could only have caused them anxiety and worry, distracted their attention from pressing duties, and rendered them objects of distrust and dislike.

The cases have been inquired into; and there is not the slightest reason why the question should not be brought to an end by the insertion of this limit. Not to do so was to invite Mr. Redmond and his colleagues to exert themselves to squeeze out of the Government further concessions for the restoration of those who are now deemed unworthy of restoration.

Mr. Birrell's statement on July 22 that "he did not wish absolutely to close the door on a reconsideration of some of the cases that had been investigated on the spot by the inspectors and passed under review by the Estates Commissioners," showed that forces in this direction were already at work, and that finality was not being approached.

In connection with this, it is interesting to note that in 1903 Mr. Redmond said that they had obtained in substance all that they had asked for. Four years later he demanded further legislation. Is it not likely, then, that in the near future he would again have been urging the Government to efforts on behalf of those left out in the cold, if the Act left it possible for that course to be taken?

PHILIP G. CAMBRAY.

THE LIBERAL-NATIONALIST UNDERSTANDING.

TO BRITISH ELECTORS

FROM

AN IRISH UNIONIST.

GENTLEMEN,

I am an Irish Unionist—not one of the prosperous North, but an inhabitant of the West where the United Irish League and Mr. Birrell hold sway. Unionism is not a popular belief in our county—and we Unionists have to content ourselves with following politics from the outside. The priests and the League take care that in local affairs it shall be beyond our power to intervene.

My first interest is the maintenance of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland; and it is because I conceive that Union to be in danger that I am appealing to you now.

In Great Britain, so far as I can see, the understanding (I believe the Prime Minister objects to the word “alliance”) that exists between the Liberal and Irish Nationalist parties does not seem to have attracted much attention.

Probably there are few Liberal M.P.’s who would openly admit it. But, I think, if you will bear the following significant incidents in mind, the truth of my statement will be manifest.

First of all you have Mr. Redmond neglecting to test the opinion of the House of Commons on the subject of Home Rule. Is not this coyness remarkable? What other party would not seek occasion to press forward the chief plank in its platform? Mr. Redmond himself betrayed no such bashfulness before the General Election, and regularly brought up the subject in the House of Commons when he was supported by the Liberal leaders and their following. Home Rule now seems to have dropped out of the Nationalist programme at Westminster; it is still in use in Ireland and in America.

The reason of this is surely not far to seek. It is obvious that Mr. Redmond is unwilling to embarrass the Liberal party. What could be more disconcerting to them than to have to declare openly that they supported the policy of Irish Separation.

Then you had quite recently the farce of an Irish candidate running at Jarrow with the purpose of letting in the Liberal candidate, by taking away from the Labour man the Nationalist vote. This intrigue, however, failed in its purpose—and both Liberal and Nationalist candidates were left in the lurch.

In Ireland, when Mr. Birrell puts the forces of law and order into operation, and checks a cattle-drive or gets the venue of a trial changed the little local Nationalist "bosses" fume, and the Nationalist local press—if it is an independent organ—talks of "coercion"—but at Westminster there is silence. How eloquent is this sudden tongue-tiedness of the Nationalist M.P.'s! In days gone by the House would have rung with their denunciations of "coercion"; but now at Westminster they are as quiet and as respectful to the Government as if it were the hierarchy.

One of the items in the purchase price of Nationalist support is the Evicted Tenants Bill—the British tax-payer to pay. Mr. Birrell claims that the measure represents the spontaneous feeling of the Cabinet towards the dupes of the Nationalist Party; but as Mr. Bryce declared only in October last, that the restoration of the evicted tenants was working well under the Act of 1903, it seems more likely that the measure was a little supplementary account put forward by the Nationalists as the price of further support.

When we turn to the Government Bench, do we not find that their actions bear out our theory. The second session of a Parliament that was to be devoted to social reform, they proposed to devote to breaking up the Constitution in the interests of the Irish Nationalists. It is true that their efforts met with failure, and that the Irish Council Bill had to be killed by those that gave it birth—but that was not Mr. Redmond's fault. Nobody could have heard his carefully prepared speech on the first reading of that measure without seeing that the Nationalist leader was ready to accept the proposals. There was of course the formality of referring it to the National Convention; but the unexpected happened, the Convention stampeded, and Mr. Redmond, to save his neck had to desert his Liberal allies, and run with the crowd.

Then again on the Education Bill, we found the Government doing all in its power to placate the Irish Nationalists by preserving in their integrity the Roman Catholic schools. It is not the point whether this was right or wrong—it is the point that the Government behaved with strange inconsistency in endeavouring to preserve the schools of the Roman Catholic faith, while stamping out those supported by the Church of England.

I am not surprised that the Nonconformist followers of the Government were indignant at this preference to what Mr. Perks calls "the priest-ridden" party.

There seems to me also to be a remarkable significance in the manner the Government treat the outrages in Ireland that are brought to its notice. Those M.P.'s who dare question it about Nationalist lawlessness are "carrion crows." Those who commit the outrages find their actions condoned. Says Mr. Birrell—"there is only a 'technical' injury to the cattle who are scattered from the farms"; "the graziers ought to take steps to protect their cattle." Then Lord Denman in the House of Lords said that in the opinion of the Government, cattle-driving was not a serious form of outrage!

And the men who may be arrested for these crimes appear before a bench of sympathetic magistrates or an equally sympathetic jury, and are discharged amid manifestations of approval! Meanwhile, Mr. Birrell

refuses to take steps necessary to secure an impartial trial, and restore in these counties proper respect for justice and the majesty of the law.

I have detailed some incidents in Irish affairs which seem to me to bear out my view. I find that I am not the only one who believes in this *entente cordiale* between His Majesty's Government and the forces of disloyalty and disorder in Ireland. In the "Daily News" of a few days ago, I read the following item in its Parliamentary Correspondent's letter :

"One word more. Any idea of a split between Ireland and the Government is out of the question. The Nationalists will never quarrel with the present Chief Secretary."

I will leave the subject now, merely asking you to think over what I have written, and bear in mind the old proverb: "A man is known by the company he keeps."

Faithfully yours,
L. I. U.

THE TENANT'S GRIEVANCE IN IRELAND.

DEAR SIR,—

I venture to forward to you a copy of a letter which I have received from a farmer in Ireland who happens to be a friend of mine. It seems to show up a state of things which would have been impossible under the true Liberal Governments of old days.

Yours, &c.,

ANGUS MACFARLANE.

[Enclosure.]

MY DEAR ANGUS,—

Your letter to the Press, which I read a month ago in one of the English papers that is sent to me, would have been of more use if it had been as widely circulated in Ireland as it was in England. Still, it hit the right nail on the head, and I have shown it to a good many of those to whom you allude. Why don't you write another one all about this Evicted Tenants Bill, which is striking terror into the heart of every honest man who pays his rent in Ireland? You cannot imagine the state of confusion into which it throws us farmers, who simply "don't know where we are" under the present Government.

Let me take myself for an example of hundreds who will probably be hit under the new Bill. As you may remember, I came over to Ireland in 1884, after Mr. Gladstone had introduced his Land Bill to stop the agitation. One of my chief reasons for so doing was, I own it, to secure fixity of tenure, for I was quite satisfied with the rent, and freedom of sale. When I arrived here, there were plenty of little discomforts to put up with; the neighbours extended none of the traditional

"Irish welcome" to a stranger, and the parish priest begged me not to attend Mass for fear of a disturbance. At the time this upset me a good bit, and my wife more than me; for in our parts at home we didn't mix up politics and religion.

However, that was all 23 years ago, and after the first few months I became fast friends both with our priest and the people. Then they told me that they had objected to me at first because they had been told they must do so by their Members, for I had taken a farm from which somebody had been evicted. Of course I inquired into the meaning of this offence, and I found that the last man had paid no rent for six years, and that he had let his farm go to rack and ruin; there was no heart left in it at all, and that was why I got it on the terms that were then offered. Well, really, I could not blame the landlord for what he did in turning such a fellow out; I should have done the same myself if I had had to deal with such a sham farmer, who was a fraudulent tenant into the bargain.

After a while the neighbours found that, with the little bit of capital which I had brought with me, I was able to pay good wages, and to give some employment to those that wanted it, and we soon began to understand one another better. The farm began to pay, for I fenced and drained and manured it, and then I built the house in which I now live and in which I have reared my family. From that day to this there wasn't a happier man in Ireland, for I felt that I had "fixity of tenure," as the lawyers call it, and that my family would have a home when I was gone. But now this Evicted Tenants Bill upsets the whole thing, and I am in real danger of being ruined. "Fixity of tenure" is at an end so far as I am concerned, and my contract is broken by the State that made it. They tell me that the son-in-law of the old man who was put out in 1882 is going to put in for my farm, and that I shall have to go. I have paid my rent without once failing. I have put some hundreds of pounds into the land as I tell you, and now I am to be turned out neck and crop by the Commissioners just because a kinsman of him who spoiled the land and paid no rent wants to get back!

And what is to become of me and mine? I may get a little compensation, and I may get none; and I can't appeal against the Commissioners except to the Commissioners themselves. So all the savings that I have put into my farm, relying on "fixity of tenure," are likely to be lost in order to please a man who never farmed an acre of land in his life. But there is worse to come. Where are we to go to? I am old, the wife is old, and the boys and girls are marrying and leaving us. The Commissioners say they will offer us another farm of equal value somewhere else, but they are going to be the judges of whether the value will be the same or not, and I may not appeal against them. They will not even give us a choice; but if I don't take the first farm they offer they may give me whatever they choose to call compensation and turn us adrift in our old age.

Anything is better than that, so I am inclined to take the farm they select for me, even though it means beginning all over again at the age of 60. But Mr. Finucane, who is one of the Commissioners, tells us that strangers are no more welcome now, in certain parts, than they were in the old days. He says that we may be boycotted and

treated like lepers, which is more than likely if we do not belong to the United Irish League or one of these secret societies which are trying to separate Ireland from the Old Country. And he says that he will be ready to protect each of us in our new farms with a body of constabulary. My dear Angus, that would be too much at our age; we simply could not live under such conditions. Besides which there would be no more "fixity of tenure" in the new farm than there was in the old one, for a Government that can break its faith with tenants under Mr. Gladstone's Act will not scruple to betray those who stay in Ireland under Mr. Birrell.

Therefore I ask you to do your best to get the farmers over in Scotland and England to help us if they can. We, who are not afraid to pay our rents, are your only security for repayment for the loans that Governments have made to Ireland in your name. That is one argument which may appeal to our fellow farmers across the water; but there is another, which is that all men of every creed should band together to insist that upright living should not be penalized and to prove that honesty is still the best policy for the State and the man.

Yours, &c.,
MYLES.

P.S.—Of course you will understand that "freedom of sale" goes overboard now with "fixity of tenure." I have no power to sell freely any more. So that, of all Mr. Gladstone's much-advertised "three F's," there only remains Fair Rent; and the United Irish League says there is no such thing.—M.

IRELAND AND THE RADICAL GOVERNMENT.

By Ian Malcolm.

SLOWLY, but surely, so soon as a Radical Ministry sits upon the Government benches in Parliament, the Irish Question forces itself upon the notice of the electors of Great Britain. I say "the Irish Question" advisedly, because Home Rule—in spite of Land Acts and subsidies, and exceptional legislation for the benefit of Ireland—remains *the* question that blocks the way. It is not remarkable, therefore, that, when the Radical party comes into office with the backing of a large majority of men who are, for the most part, declared Home Rulers, the hopes of the Separatist party in Ireland reach their highest point. Nor can we blame them for believing that the men who climbed into power upon fair promises to Irish Home Rulers would, when they reached "the seats of the mighty," do something to repay the confidence that had been placed in them; and that "something" was understood to be a full step forward in the direction of Home Rule.

But the first Session of the new Radical Parliament closed in 1906, and the Nationalists of Ireland saw no trace of the fulfilment of those promises upon which they had built their hopes. Then it dawned upon them that those who had duped the Nonconformist conscience, the Chinese repatriators, and the temperance advocates, had also deceived the very elect Irish patriots. From the awakening of this bitter consciousness dates the era of misconduct and misrule in Ireland which every lover of the Empire deplores to-day. The word went forth to "let the cattle wander," and since November last the one flourishing industry in the West of Ireland has been done to death by the hand of the Irish patriot. Boycotting proceeded apace, rampant and unchecked; police protection was applied for and granted with a freedom that recalled the gloomiest days of Mr. Gladstone's maladministration of Ireland. His Majesty's mails were robbed, and his officials were assaulted. The courts of law have been the scenes of travesties of justice when magistrates and juries alike refused to convict prisoners who offered no defence for their illegal actions and their outrages. During the present year the columns of the Nationalist Press in Ireland have teemed with reports of cattle-driving, of fire-arm assaults into houses upon defenceless persons, of letters threatening to murder, to say nothing of innumerable occasions when meetings of the United Irish League have menaced those who did not go "on the knee" to their imperious behests.

This is the "old medicine" recommended by the patriot pharmacists to purge the country of any law-abiding symptoms that may lurk in it, and to coerce the present Government into crawling acquiescence in its demands. What has been the Prime Minister's policy? (1) To permit Mr. Bryce to outline a scheme for a new Irish University Education, and forthwith to send Mr. Bryce to America as Ambassador and so to extinguish his scheme. (2) To permit Mr. Birrell to offer to the Nationalists a bribe of £650,000 a year of the British taxpayer's money in order that the "patriots" should be advised to accept the Irish Council Bill instead of Home Rule. This was flung back in the face of the Government without a word of thanks or of explanation; it was conduct which would not have been tolerated from the House of Lords! (3) To offer to the Home Rulers in Ireland an "Evicted Tenants Bill," to eject rent-paying tenants from their holdings in order to reinstate "undesirables" at the cost of about £3,000,000 of money (once more, to be found by the British taxpayer) in order to secure "PEACE"!

And what has been the upshot of this craven policy of bargaining with the mammon of unrighteousness? The judges of the land unite in condemning the lawlessness that prevails as "a reign of terror"; the outrages continue and reach their climax in a villainous attempt to assassinate Lord Ashtown by blowing up the house in which he was sleeping; the Royal Irish Constabulary are so disheartened by the lack of support which they have received from the Government, and by the overwhelming amount of work which is piled upon the shoulders of their reduced numbers, that they are brought, for the first time in their splendid history, to the verge of insubordination; and Mr. Redmond writes to the "New York World" that "The next time the electors are appealed to, Home Rule for Ireland will be a foremost and an avowed portion of the Liberal programme." Such is the nett result of eighteen months of Radical Government in Ireland.

Slowly, but surely, the truth of the foregoing arguments is being brought before the electors of Great Britain, *who have to pay the piper*. The Unionist members in the House of Commons have plied the Chief Secretary with questions upon the state of Ireland and have received answers of the most disturbing character. The Union Defence League has used every available means, at by-elections and at ordinary political meetings, to acquaint the electors of Great Britain with the true condition of things in Ireland at the present time; and the Unionist Press of England has given more attention to Irish affairs during the past twelve months than it has afforded for many years past. The effect upon the electorate of the "predominant partner" has been electric in its power. Not in scores, nor in hundreds, but in thousands, the Unionists, the Imperial Liberals, and the Nonconformists of England and Scotland are re-awakening to the importance of the "Irish Question"; that is to say, to the danger of Home Rule to their co-religionists and to the Empire. At every by-election the question of Home Rule, "to be, or not to be," must be a predominating feature, for we know what we have paid in the past, both at home and abroad, by following Mr. Gladstone's precept of "Peace at *any* price." After all, Ireland is part of the United Kingdom, and, although she (or the disloyal part of her) pays an absurdly small revenue to the general Exchequer, yet she is protected and defended by the whole power of the British Empire. If she (or the disloyal part of her) chooses to defy that Empire and, by deeds of violence and acts of outrage, to array the forces of world-civilization against her, that is her own affair. But this much may, at least, be said: the Radical Government which backs up Nationalist Ireland in so suicidal a policy the Government which offers such mealy-mouthed condemnation of outrage and crime as that spoken by Lord Denman and Mr. Birrell, has already earned for itself the unenviable reputation of endeavouring to repress sedition by bribes at home, just as it has imagined that the loyalty of the Transvaal has been bought for the price of nearly everything that Britons hold dear. Against such a Government the ranks of Imperial Britain at home and beyond the seas stands united, and determined that the disruption of the Empire shall not be encompassed by a fortuitous Radical majority whose one political watchword is "Little England."

IRISH DIARY.

August 2.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Evicted Tenants Bill. Third Reading. Speeches by Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Walter Long, and Mr. Birrell.

August 3.—"Times."—Letter from Mr. A. Roche, M.P., on Mr. Wyndham's resignation.

August 6.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Evicted Tenants Bill. Second Reading. Speeches by Lord Crewe, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Loreburn, Lord Middleton, and Lord Ripon.

August 8.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Irish Land (No. 2) Bill and Judicature (Ireland) Bill. Second Reading.

August 9.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Evicted Tenants Bill. Committee.

August 12.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Evicted Tenants Bill. Committee.

August 15.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Evicted Tenants Bill. Report.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Irish Land (No. 2) Bill and Judicature (Ireland) Bill. Committee.

"Freeman's Journal."—Letter from Mr. Redmond to the Town Clerk of Wexford in reply to a communication offering him the freedom of the Borough.

August 16.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Evicted Tenants Bill. Third Reading.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Judicature (Ireland) Bill. Third Reading.

August 20.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Judicature (Ireland) Bill. Second Reading.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Evicted Tenants Bill. Consideration of Lords' amendments.

August 21.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Irish Land (No. 2) Bill. Report.

August 23.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Evicted Tenants Bill. Consideration of Commons' amendments.

August 24.—Mr. Birrell at Bristol on Irish Questions.

August 26.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Irish Land (No. 2) Bill. Second Reading.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Evicted Tenants Bill. Consideration of Lords' amendments.

August 27.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Evicted Tenants Bill. Consideration of Commons' amendments.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Evicted Tenants Bill. Lords' amendments.

August 29.—Mr. Redmond at Ballybofey.

August 30.—Annual meeting of the Irish Unionist Alliance in Dublin.

September 4.—Mr. Redmond, M.P., at Dublin Mansion House.

September 6.—By-election.—DOWN (West):—

Lord Arthur Hill (U.)	..	..	3,702
Mr. A. Beattie (R.)	..	..	2,918

By-election.—LONGFORD (South):—

Mr. J. Philips (N.), unopposed.

“Times.”—Letter from Sir Lees Knowles on the State of Ireland.

September 8.—Mr. S. Young, M.P., at Ballyjamesduff.

September 15.—Mr. Redmond, M.P., at Longford.

September 29.—Mr. Redmond, M.P., at Wicklow.

Cardinal Logue at Londonderry.

October 2.—Mr. O’Brien, M.P., at Cork.

October 6.—Mr. Redmond, M.P., at Portumna.

October 7.—Mr. Walter Long, M.P., at Limavady, and Coleraine.

IRISH FACTS.

Vol. 1.—No. 7.]

[NOVEMBER, 1907.]

CURRENT NOTES.

“Hibernia Impacata.”

It would be difficult to frame a severer indictment of Ministerial policy in Ireland than that which appears in what is presumably still the leading quarterly organ of Liberal opinion. Only in April last Mr. Birrell boasted that the sister isle was in a more peaceful condition than it had been in for six hundred years. Now, “so far from being in a state of quiet,” says the “Edinburgh Review” (October):—

“Ireland is, upon the contrary, in a state of extreme agitation, not to say of open disorder. So far from being, in the language of the chronicler of Mountjoy’s Elizabethan wars, ‘Hibernia Pacata,’ she is, in a degree which it would be unwise to exaggerate but a folly to ignore, ‘Hibernia Impacata’—an Ireland restless and disquieted; an Ireland full of bitter animosities, which are not the less dangerous because they no longer follow strictly the old lines of national and religious demarcation, but have become to a much greater extent than formerly social and sectional.”

“Breakers Ahead.”

The *entente cordiale* between Irish Roman Catholics and English Nonconformists is likely to be strained by the speeches at the Congregational Union recently held at Blackpool. Listen, for instance, to the words of the Rev. J. Hirst Hollowell:—

“We want a National Education Bill, and we are strong enough to get it if we make up our minds to speak to the Catholics of England in the tone in which France has spoken to the Catholics of France. . . For a Nonconformist or Liberal candidate to bargain with a Catholic priest for votes on the terms which that priest dictates is an outrage.”

Whereupon Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., takes up the cudgels for the Roman Catholics in Dublin, and retorts: “Why should the Catholic be forced to violate his conscience in order to receive higher education? Why should a narrow sect in Ulster and their brethren in Lancashire and the West of Scotland dictate terms to Statesmen and Governments upon this question? Why should the English Nonconformists dominate the situation?” A pretty quarrel indeed, and one which is likely to develop next Session, when Mr. Birrell asks for money to endow the Roman Catholic Denomination and Mr. M’Kenna introduces his Bill to put all education under undenominational control.

A Reply to Cardinal Logue.

Readers will remember that Cardinal Logue, shortly after the Kirkdale Election, took occasion to rebuke "the politicians of the country entering into an alliance with Socialism and Secularism under the pretence of securing Home Rule for Ireland."

Although Mr. Redmond, who directed the Irish Nationalists of Kirkdale to vote for the Socialist candidate, has kept silence under the Cardinal's rebuke, the "Catholic Herald," the English organ of the Irish Parliamentary party, has been bolder.

Referring to the "Irish Catholic," a Dublin weekly supporting the Cardinal, the "Catholic Herald" says:—

"It is not our intention to deal at any length with editorial lucubrations in a Dublin gutter journal, conducted with less regard for the decencies of discussion and with a greater absence of intelligence than any publication in these countries. The Jesuits are credited with a saying as to the danger to religion which may arise from the doings or sayings of pious fools. It may be worse still when knaves don the religious mantle, or when there is much both of the knave and the fool about the champion of religion. We commend this thought to the Dublin journal referred to, which insolently abuses Mr. Redmond and others as bad Catholics because they do not meet with its infallible approval. . .

"We assert that Catholics who voted for Mr. Hill might do so with a clear conscience, and that to accuse them of Socialism or Atheism because of such a vote is calumnious and vicious, and we will add that it is not justifiable to do these things in the supposed interests of religion, especially where the leading motive is something quite different—viz., to injure and to abuse the Irish leader and party by hook or by crook."—October 19.

Mr. Redmond is evidently making his reply by proxy—and from England. Wise man!

T. P. O'Connor as an Imperialist.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor, speaking before the Young Scots Society at Edinburgh on Oct. 18, came out in the disguise of an Imperialist. He said:—

"The question of Devolution was a great Imperial question, going to the very roots of Imperial unity, security, and honour. He believed that, if the question could be considered by those who had an intimate and long acquaintance with the House of Commons as it was, there could be only one answer to it. He held that Devolution was not only the straightest but the only road to Imperial efficiency. It was, in fact, the one thing that would save the heart of the Empire from congestion and paralysis."—"Freeman," Oct. 19.

The development of Mr. T. P. O'Connor's enthusiasm for the Empire will be watched with great interest. Irish Nationalists have shown but little desire to "save the heart of the Empire" so far. What does Mr. Redmond think of his lieutenant's conversion? Is **he**, too, an advocate of "Imperial efficiency"?

Home Rule to the Front.

Mr. Redmond speaking at Drumkeerin on Oct. 27, declared that :—

“They were at the beginning of a great Home Rule campaign. They were putting on foot a great propaganda, not only in Ireland, but in Great Britain. They had arrived at a position in the Home Rule movement when what was chiefly wanted, in Great Britain at any rate, was knowledge and information about the Irish question. Next Session Home Rule would be put, both in Parliament and out of Parliament, in Great Britain, in the very front rank of the great Imperial problems of the day. They proposed to take such action as would arrest attention, and compel the consideration of the masses of the English people, and by so doing he believed they would advance their cause to the very threshold of victory.”—“Times,” Oct. 28.

Unionists in Great Britain will thank Mr. Redmond for this declaration of war. Home Rule is to the front, and must not be overlooked in the multitude of other political questions that are at present before the electors. The Union Defence League is prepared to supply the “knowledge and information about the Irish Question” which Mr. Redmond says is “chiefly wanted in Great Britain.” The “knowledge and information” will not probably be of the kind Mr. Redmond will welcome, but we can safely say that it will be exceedingly instructive. It will open the eyes of British electors to the folly and madness of granting the Irish Nationalist demands.

The address of the Union Defence League is 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., and all applications for information, speakers, and literature should be addressed to the Secretary.

The Cost of Irish Government.

Mr. Redmond's statement at Drumkeerin on Oct. 27, that the Government of Ireland “was modelled on lines of extravagance unknown in any similarly situated country in the world,” and “that if they had a Government of their own they could run the country on one-half the present expenditure,” is far from convincing when certain facts in connection with the Irish Council Bill are recalled to mind.

The Irish Council Bill proposed to give to Ireland “a Government of their own” over the most important departments of Irish administration. It follows then, from Mr. Redmond's speech, that the expenditure on those departments ought to be reduced one-half. Did Mr. Birrell propose to do that? On the contrary, he called upon the taxpayers to contribute an additional £650,000 a year to the cost of running these departments.

In endeavouring to justify this additional burden Mr. Birrell said (House of Commons, May 7) :—

“The present cost of administering the services covered by these eight departments is a little over two millions. **Now, there is no single man, however stern and strong and Parnellian he may be, and certainly no body of men, unless they were wholly bereft of their senses, who would consent to take over these eight departments at that figure.** To do so would be to plunge into a sea of troubles, and without the faintest prospect of doing any real good work either for Ireland or for one's own reputation.”

We see from this, that so far from Ireland being extravagantly governed, a step towards giving Ireland a Government of its own involves very heavy additional expenditure.

Mr. Birrell's is not the only evidence to this effect. Strange to say, the most complete contradiction to Mr. Redmond comes from Mr. Redmond himself ! Speaking in the House of Commons on the same day—shortly after Mr. Birrell's speech from which the above extract has been taken—Mr. Redmond said :—

“ I am myself strongly of opinion that the amount mentioned of £650,000 a year is **altogether inadequate.**”

Will Mr. Redmond make up his mind one way or the other ? It is no use telling his audience at Westminster one thing, and an audience in Ireland another, and expect both to believe he is speaking the truth.

The Two Voices.

“ The Government is bound to see that cattle-drives shall be prevented as far as possible, and that incitement to cattle-driving should not be carried into effect by the actual execution of such drives.”—“ *Roscommon Herald*,” Oct. 5, 1907.

Sir Antony Macdonnell thus admirably expressed himself at a meeting of the Congested Districts Commission on Oct. 2.

Unfortunately Sir Antony is but the servant to carry out the will of the Government, who have through the mouths of Mr. Birrell and Lord Denman done their best to minimise the crime of cattle-driving.

That the Government are not without sympathy with this kind of lawlessness has received ample confirmation from the speech made by Mr. T. W. Russell, who stepped into the post of Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture from which Sir Horace Plunkett was meekly removed by the Government at the demand of the Irish Nationalists.

Mr. T. W. Russell in his time has been all things to all men. A short time back he found political salvation (and £1,350 a year) by joining his late enemies.

Since the recent convert is nearly always the most fanatical believer, there is an element of fitness that he should have been chosen as the latest exponent of Radical approval of disorder.

Speaking in Manchester, Mr. T. W. Russell said :—

“ We have no shooting of Landlords (?), we have no maiming of cattle (?), we have very little boycotting (?). . . We have substituted for them the **COMPARATIVELY HARMLESS** process of driving cattle.”—“ *Freeman's Journal*,” Oct. 15.

Mr. T. W. Russell has peculiar views on lawful means to gain personal ends. Surely there is no distinction between driving off a man's cattle, or removing his watch, or his overcoat ? In each case the desire of personal gain is strong enough to override regard for the law of the land. Mr. Russell condones cattle-driving ; but would he also apologise for the thief who removed his watch, and speak of the “ comparative harmlessness ” of the operation.

We can only hope that Sir Antony Macdonnell will see that Mr. T. W. Russell's “ incitement to cattle-driving ” will not be carried into effect by the actual execution of such drives.”

That it is an incitement cannot be questioned. Witness, for example, the following extract from a Nationalist paper, the “ *Roscommon Herald* ” :—

“ Mr. Ginnell, M.P., was right after all when he said that at least one member of the Government was strongly in favour of his

views. . . After Mr. T. W. Russell's speech, any district with a grievance would be lacking in intelligence if it did not apply the means to which he could not find it in his heart to say a very harsh word."—Oct. 19, 1907.

A Radical View.

From "The Nation," the Radical weekly paper, of Oct. 5, we take the following extract, giving the Radical view of Irish outrages :—

"The Irish peasant learned from experience that if he remained quiescent he was deemed satisfied, while if he did something that called attention to his needs and desires, although he might be branded as a criminal, he would be listened to. In former days his only weapons were the blunderbus and the shears. For adopting these methods of barbarism he might be denounced by a righteous British public as a savage, but, all the same, his grievances were examined. He has given up the blunderbus and the shears, and merely drives the objectionable cattle away from the lands which he thinks would be better occupied by human beings. He drives them away in the most humane manner, **even in some instances bringing a waggon to carry the weaker animals, for which a long walk might be trying. . .**"

We have read the accounts of very many cattle drives, but we have yet to learn of the "waggon" incident taking place. Perhaps "The Nation" would be good enough to supply the particulars?

To excuse a crime because the victims are made comfortable is a new line of defence. We wonder what effect it would have on a jury for the murderer to plead extenuating circumstances because his victim was done to death without causing him unnecessary pain and trouble during the operation. That is the meaning of "The Nation's" plea for sympathy.

Life under the Terror.

The author of a series of articles in the "Morning Post" on "Clanricarde's Country," giving the result of his personal investigation into the Portumna estate, records an interesting incident that will especially appeal to farmers and others in the country districts of Great Britain.

Interviewing a farmer on this estate—

"I asked if he had been molested in any way, and he said : No ; but that he feared trouble next spring, and had decided reluctantly not to buy ewes for the winter. During the lambing season it is necessary for the farmer to be out at least twice each night with a light in order to look after the newly-born lambs, and this man feared that he might be in danger when engaged in the work. To give up his ewes was a loss, but he had unwillingly come to the conclusion that it was better to incur it than to run the risk of being attacked. This is a fair illustration of the terrorism under which the planters live, and which, I need hardly say, would not be suffered to exist in any other civilised country, either in Europe or elsewhere."—"Morning Post," Nov. 26.

We wonder what Mr. Birrell and his subordinate apologists for Irish disorder and outrage—Lord Denman and Mr. T. W. Russell—have to say to this.

It will be remembered that Mr. John Redmond, speaking at Portumna on Oct. 6, threatened the farmers on this estate that "they had got to go" to make room for those who were duped by the Nationalists into law-breaking in the time of the Land League, and that if they did not go "peace in this district would be a dishonour."

Priests as Graziers.

The "Irish Peasant" (Oct. 28) suggests an inquiry into an aspect of the anti-grazing campaign which so far seems to have escaped the attention of the United Irish League.

It says:—

"It would be suggestive to find out the proportion of grass land which is held by clergymen throughout Ireland, and, furthermore, the number of clerical graziers who have not actually any land of their own. In Meath certain clergymen have their cattle driven on to the grass lands of their parishioners—sometimes, we have been told, without asking the latter's permission.

"In old times the Church in Ireland stood resolutely for tillage. Bishops and abbot on occasion actually did their hard day's work at the plough. Now many priests are graziers, and apart from the forceful and thoroughgoing addresses of the Bishop of Ross, and occasional references by the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishop of Limerick, and a clergyman here and there, Churchmen have nothing to say for tillage—which is quite as important to the Church as to the State.

"Clerical grazierdom is one of our wildest Irish ironies, and it is high time for plain speaking about it. Attached to several of the convents, also, are luxurious and idle grass lands. The people are beginning to ask why these things should be, and it is a very pertinent question."

We have not heard of any cattle-driving on the lands of clerical graziers. One was reported a short time ago, but the priest himself vehemently denied it.

Perhaps Mr. Ginnell will make inquiries.

Priests and Politics.

In spite of the Papal pronouncement that the duties of the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland are limited to the spiritual welfare of their flocks, we notice that the United Irish League is dependent upon this same priesthood to preside over and to address large numbers of their political meetings. Between Aug. 8 and Sept. 16, 71 meetings of the U.I.L. have had priests as chairmen, and these have been supported by the speeches or the presence of 70 of the Roman Catholic clergy. It is not for us to complain, but we must be allowed to judge of these gentlemen by the character of the resolutions (regarding cattle-driving, &c.) which they speak to or put from the chair.

The Government and Cattle-Driving.

We have often referred to the attitude of the Government towards "cattle-driving" in Ireland, and given instances of their speeches and actions being used by the Nationalists as arguments for the promotion of further lawlessness.

Mr. M'Dermott, the counsel for the defendants in a recent application by the Attorney-General for a change of venue in a cattle-driving case, said :—

“ Unless he made a mistake in reading the reports in the papers there could be no doubt that the majority of his Majesty's Government were also in favour of it.”—“ Northern Whig,” Oct. 29.

The Government have only themselves to thank that they are cited as abetting outrages. It is time they made it perfectly clear that they do not look with sympathy on cattle-driving.

The Scapegoat.

Mr. Lewis Harcourt, the First Commissioner of Works in the present Government, speaking at Haslingden on Oct. 28, declared :—

“ It was said that there might be trouble in Ireland in the winter. If so, the responsibility would rest with the House of Lords.”—“ Times,” Oct. 29.

Mr. Harcourt gave no reason for his amazing statement, which was perhaps as well. The only possible solution is that the House of Lords is to be made a scapegoat for all the sins of omission and commission of the Government.

What have the House of Lords done to incur the responsibility for Irish disorder this winter ? We know of nothing.

The persons responsible for the maintenance of order in Ireland are the Government. So far they have failed lamentably. And it is evident from Mr. Harcourt's anxiety to shift the blame, that they have but little hope of doing better in the immediate future.

To drag in Irish disorder as a weapon in the campaign against the Peers is imposing too much on the credulity of the electors.

The Lord Chief Justice's Rebuke.

Mr. Cherry, the Irish Attorney-General, had a bad quarter of an hour before the Lord Chief Justice when making application for a change of venue with respect to a Roscommon cattle-driving case.

Interrupting the Attorney-General's periods, the Lord Chief Justice pertinently asked :—

“ Have you got the men who incited them to do this thing ?

“ The Attorney-General : I think so.

“ The Lord Chief Justice : The reason I ask is this. I see in the newspapers that there are people going about the country inciting other people to do these things. I don't know whether or not these inciters are prosecuted. **A lot of poor boys are brought up from time to time before me for doing some of these things, but I think it would be more to the point to bring up those who incited them.**

“ The Attorney-General : That is rather a political issue.

“ The Lord Chief Justice : A political issue ? Is it a political issue that you should indict those persons who incite others to commit offences ?

“ The Attorney-General : I think it is. It has been discussed on public platforms in England and in Ireland, in Parliament and in the Press, as to whether persons should be prosecuted for making inflammatory speeches.

“ The Lord Chief Justice : That is a wholly different thing.

"The Attorney-General: It is not a question that I am prepared to discuss here with your Lordship.

"The Lord Chief Justice: My question is whether you have the inciters.

"The Attorney-General: A great deal depends on what incitement means. I have myself been charged with having incited others, and the Chief Secretary has been charged with doing it by members standing in their places in Parliament. We have here the persons who were caught in the act of cattle-driving, not the persons who made speeches. In every case in which they have been identified they have been prosecuted, whether that policy is right or wrong:—

"The Lord Chief Justice: **It is not a matter of policy at all. It is a matter of justice which the law recognises—incitement to offences.**

"The Attorney-General: Incitement is a vague word.

"The Lord Chief Justice: It is a word well known to the law, and one of an elementary character.

"The Attorney-General: It has been employed on platforms against members of the Government:—

"The Lord Chief Justice: You think that is an answer to my question.

"The Attorney-General: I would much prefer to deal with the matter from the legal aspect than from the political aspect.

"The Lord Chief Justice: **Yes, and prosecute boys, and so on.** Go on. I may tell you, Attorney-General, that when I was Attorney-General there was a question as to whether Mr. John Dillon, who has the courage of his convictions, should be prosecuted for his part in promoting the Plan of Campaign. The case was submitted to me, and I gave it as my opinion that it would be a disgrace to the administration of the law to prosecute the mere tools in these matters and not to prosecute the father and the inciter to the Plan of Campaign. Mr. Dillon was prosecuted and convicted, and he took his punishment like a man."—"Northern Whig," Oct. 30, 1907.

It is rather a remarkable thing that the "Freeman's Journal," the principal Irish Nationalist paper, has no comment to make on these proceedings.

In the old days the Nationalists would have denounced the proceedings as coercion; now they are silent. Why?

Inciters to Outrage.

The Lord Chief Justice of Ireland hit the nail on the head when he said that it would be more to the point if the Government brought up the inciters to outrage rather than the "poor boys" who are led away by the speaker's wild words.

The Attorney-General (Mr. Cherry), like all members of the Government, had an excuse ready why the instigators should be allowed to go off scot free. To arrest them was, he said, "a political issue"!

Of course, the Government would be in an awkward position if it put a batch of its Irish Nationalist allies in the dock. That apparently is the "political" reason which prevents serious crimes being punished, and peaceful Irish citizens from being protected in the exercise of their ordinary rights. To so low an ebb has Government sunk in Ireland that justice is subordinated to political expediency.

“Thou shalt not Covet.”

Judge Curran, addressing the Grand Jury at the opening of Longford Quarter Sessions, said :—

“As long as I am informed that there exists in the county, or a considerable part of the county, an organisation or conspiracy against private property, known generally as cattle-driving, so long as I am informed that exists in the county, so long shall I refuse to congratulate the Grand Jury on the state in which I find the county.

“Those who take part in this organisation and advise it, must and ought to know they are violating not only the law of the land, and the law and constitution under which we all live, but they are also violating a far higher law—a far higher authority—which tells us in no dubious language—**‘Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s goods.’**”

“I am told some people say ‘cattle-driving’ is not a very serious offence. I say that if anyone who holds these opinions would come and live in a county where cattle-driving is rife, there he would see that where men who have the pluck and courage to insist on their right to live as free citizens in a free country, are submitted to boycotting of the fiercest kind—he would see that man boycotted, his servants and labourers fleeing from him, the shopkeepers warned against him; he would see that man in his own district ostracised, where a short time previous he lived in peace and harmony with his neighbours.

“If that party came here, and, learning that cattle-driving, if not entirely successful, must inevitably lead to boycotting, and still holds the same opinions, I must only say I have very little respect for his judgment.”—“Irish Times,” Oct. 22.

What has Mr. T. W. Russell to say to this ?

“Lawlessness, Turbulence, and Class Hatred.”

How Mr. Birrell and his colleagues must hate the Irish judges who refuse to play the Government game of concealing the real condition of Ireland from British electors !

Judge Curran at Trim (Co. Meath) Quarter Sessions on Nov. 1, added another item to the long indictment of the Government for failing to preserve order in Ireland.

In informing the Grand Jury that he was unable to congratulate them on the state of the county, Judge Curran said :—

“As you are probably aware, cattle-driving is being carried on in almost every part of your county. For some time past individuals from outside, strangers to the county, having no stake or interest in it, have been preaching publicly and with impunity open defiance of the law, advising their hearers to offend against it and inciting them so to do, **leaving behind them** as they passed through your county **a trail of lawlessness, turbulence, and class hatred**, and with what dire results to its peace !

“I find that since Aug. 28 last there have been no less than **forty cases of cattle-driving** in the county, and they still continue. Bodies of men, secretly at night, and in many cases armed with sticks and staves, breaking locks and gates, have driven out and scattered over the country the cattle of their neighbours with the

intention of terrorising them into complying with their demands. One can scarcely credit we are living in a civilised country. It is quite true that one leader has been struck at, and, so far as I can see, only one. But Mr. Farrell, one of the members for Longford, is a man who has the courage of his convictions, and has been sent for trial, not for inciting or advising, but for actively taking part in an extensive cattle-drive in the County Longford, directing, it is said, the movements of his army from a hedge side, his marshal's baton on the occasion being represented by an old gingham umbrella.

"Sitting here I have nothing to do with the economics of the question. No argument, however specious, can justify open defiance of the law, whether in speech or action. It is not for me to suggest the remedy for all this. I am afraid the time for remedy has passed. The advice, the incitement so openly, so persistently, and with such impunity given, has been acted on, leaving your county, hitherto so peaceable, **in its present lawless, pitiable, and unfortunate condition.** In one instance that came before me the gates leading into a field containing a large quantity of hay were broken open and the cattle of an adjoining owner driven in, destroying property worth nearly £20, and I am glad to say the ratepayers will have to make good the loss.

"I deem it my duty, as Chairman of your Quarter Sessions, interested as I am and as you are all in the peace and welfare of your county, to lay these facts before you—facts, I think, which you will say warrant me in coming to the conclusion that it is not possible for me on the present occasion to congratulate you upon the state of your county."—"Morning Post," Nov. 4.

Wise Words for Mr. Birrell.

Mr. Birrell would be wise if, instead of condoning disorder in Ireland, he applied himself to a policy of restoring peace and suppressing crime on the lines laid down by Mr. Morley in his speech at Arbroath on Oct. 21. In that speech Mr. Morley, referring to Indian disorder and discontent, said :—

"We have somehow or another, wisely or unwisely, by a right policy or erroneous policy, we have got to maintain order. . . Disorder, whatever your ultimate policy may be—at any rate, violent disorder—must be put down, and that with a firm hand. . . The maintenance of order is the foundation of anything like future progress. . . You would not have me see men try to set the prairie on fire without arresting the hand. You would not blame me when I saw men smoking their pipes—political pipes or ordinary pipes—smoking their pipes near powder magazines, you would not blame me, you would not call me an arch-coercionist, if I said, 'Away with the men and away with the powder.'"—"Times," Oct. 22.

Mr. Birrell as a Cabinet Minister must approve of this policy of maintaining order in India. Why then does he allow disorder to be rampant in the country he administers ?

Shown up ! Leaguer and Grazier too.

Nothing is better calculated to show the hollowness of the Irish Nationalist campaign against the grazing system than the evidence

extracted from two gentlemen who appeared before the Congested Districts Commission during its sitting at Ballinasloe on Oct. 1. (We quote from the "Irish Times" of Oct. 2):—

"T. B. HIBBET, farmer and publican, and manager of two thousand acres of land for a gentleman in the West, said **the present grazing system was a national evil and politically immoral**, and the Government that preferred the raising of the bullock to the prosperity of the people stood self condemned. In the West congestion might be found on the fringe of every grass farm. The present grazing system was detrimental to cultivation, injurious to the quality and value of cattle, and was a pernicious system which had changed in a great measure the thrift and industry of the people to sloth and negligence, and its continuance would be a national loss. The first and only thought of the grazier was to work the land with the least possible outlay. The grazing system had produced a dearth of labour and poverty. The division of the grazing lands in the neighbourhood of large towns would tend largely to remove discontent and bring about prosperity.

"The Chairman—You hold 100 acres; do you till your farm? No, **it is in grass.**

"On your own principle, why don't you till it? I am as bad as the rest. . .

"You manage 2,000 acres. **Is that quantity in grass? Yes.**

"Why if it is more profitable to till the land you don't till that? There is no labour to till it. The best men are driven to America and we have nothing at home but the weeds of the population. . .

"Sir John Colomb—You condemn a system that you are managing? I am speaking for the benefit of the country.

"And making profit by managing a system that you condemn? Yes. . .

"The grazing land, according to your principle, is required by the State to give to people who would till it? Yes.

"That being so do you think that the Government ought to buy at their own price, whether you lost by it or not? **That is personal.** (Laughter.)

"We must come to the personal. You are talking of the grazing system, you are an owner of grazing land, and I want to apply the principle personally to yourself, and I want to know what you think would be fair in dealing with you—what would be a fair price? That is if the Government bought the land. Could the Government buy land that I have purchased under the Act? 14

"You say that grazing land should be taken from its owners and split up for distribution. You are an owner of grazing land, and I ask you what you think the Government ought to pay you? My point is that the land let on hire on the 11 months' system should be taken.

"Then every owner of grass lands who grazes his own land should be excluded from your policy? Buy all the grazing lands under the 11 months' system, then come to the other lands if you want them.

"What do you think would be a fair price that you should receive? They would have a long way to come before reaching me. If it came to my opinion as to what should be given for land, I would

say that the Commissioners or some independent man should go on the land and fix the price.

"Would you be quite satisfied to let any authority constituted by the Government come to your land, and say—'We will give you so much,' and although the amount so offered was a great deal less than you knew the land was worth, would you be satisfied? I would have to be satisfied.

"Do you think it would be fair? I won't give any opinion on it."

"**MARTIN FINNERTY, Gorteen, Secretary of the Local Branch of the United Irish League,** said he holds sixty acres of land, three or four of which he tills, and **the rest is used for grazing his own cattle.**

"The Chairman—You have heard Mr. Hibbet's evidence. Do you agree with him that all the land in this district is capable of tillage? I do. It is all nonsense to say that the land is too heavy for tillage.

"If that is so, why do you not till a larger proportion of your own land? Our land is particularly good for grazing. (Laughter.) . . .

"It seems extraordinary that while you hold such strong opinions as to the value of tillage you don't till your own holding? **I admit that I am wrong in that.**

"What class of men would you like to see placed upon the grass lands? They should be men who would know how to handle a farm, and they should be locally selected. The uneconomic holdings in the district should be enlarged first, and he **thought there would be a tendency to oppose outsiders coming in from another district to a hostile territory.**

"How are the holdings of those in other parts of the West to be made economic if you regard this part of Galway as hostile territory? **Well, something would have to be done. (Laughter.)**

"Do you think that feeling should prevent the Estates Commissioners from trying to relieve the poor people in the Western district? I can hardly say. In one district it might; in another it might not.

"Do you think it is unfair to advocate the breaking up of grass land in Galway for the purpose of enlarging uneconomic holdings if uneconomic holdings in the Western portion of Galway were not to benefit thereby? I would be prepared to say that. According to my view, compulsory purchase is necessary.

"Do you think that a man's land ought to be taken by compulsion, and that he should be left in a worse position than he was before? I do. I say the land should be acquired for the tenant at a fair price whether the landlord was left in a worse position or not. That day is coming, and the sooner landlords realise it the better.

"Are you not inclined rather to look on one side of the bargain? I hold that the people should get the land at a fair price.

"Do you think it would be fair for the Government to go to a man and say, 'We will compel you by a process of compulsion to sell at a loss, of, say, £400 or £500 a year'? It is the only solution of the difficulty. If the landlord in such instances meets with reverses the tenants have had their reverses as well. And if he won't sell his grass lands at a fair price he should be compelled to sell.

"Suppose the Government came to you at war time and said—

'We want your horse, and you must take the price we offer you.' Would that be fair? **It would not be fair.**

"Then why should that not apply to the case of a landlord? By giving the landlord what I consider a fair price for the land he would not be left with an income less than he had before. A fair price could be arrived at by making a proper calculation.

"In your opinion it would not be fair to leave the landlord with less than he had before? I would not go the length of saying that it would.

"Answering further questions, witness said, when it came to a distribution of the land, he would, in dealing with the evicted tenants, give a preference to Plan of Campaign tenants who acted on principle. There would be opposition to migrants from Connemara.

A Sporting Party.

The United Irish League seems determined to ruin Ireland. It is doing its best to stamp out the cattle industry; and recently it has turned its attention to hunting—a form of sport that is very popular and profitable to rural Ireland.

In the Ormond Hunt in King's County are two members, Mr. H. D. and Mr. H. B. Kenny, whom the League accuses of being "graziers," and recently the League called on the Hunt Committee to expel these gentlemen. This the Committee naturally refused to do. Although Messrs. Kenny voluntarily gave a personal undertaking not to hunt this season, the Shinrone Branch of the United Irish League refused to be pacified, and issued a manifesto calling on the people to be present at the first meet (on Oct. 28) and "teach insolent men a lesson" by taking action to "stop the hunt."

Some 500 Leaguers, armed with heavy sticks, were present with the inevitable band. The small body of police were swept aside and the crowd invaded the private grounds of the mansion where the meet was to be held.

So threatening was the crowd that the hounds could not be brought out and the meeting was abandoned.

Mr. Hogan, M.P., was present, and advised the people to stop hunting all over the county until all the grazing ranches were broken up.

On Oct. 31 a meeting of the Hunt was held, and the League were told that the Hunt could not impose conditions as to not hunting on any member of the public. Meanwhile, hunting is suspended until the League replies.

The action of the League has not been unanimously approved. The labourers in the district have denounced its action in stopping hunting, as they and many grooms, stablemen, and others would be thrown out of work.

The Corolanty Harriers, who hunt in the same district, have also been banned by the League; and the Masters of the County Meath Foxhounds and the Ward Union Stag hounds have in like manner been threatened by the League not to allow Judge Fitzgerald, who has incurred the enmity of the League by awarding Lord Ashtown damages in the Glennaheiry bomb case, to hunt in the district. The Ratoath Branch of the League has in this case threatened to poison the lands if its demands are not complied with.

These incidents will show farmers in Great Britain what life is like in Ireland under Radical rule.

Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., and Crime.

A week or two ago Mr. T. W. Russell, a member of the present Government, made a long speech at Manchester about the state of Ireland. One might well expect him to be impartial since he has championed Home Rule and Unionist administration with equal ability. But our expectations have been doomed to disappointment, for this zealous convert to Home Rule can see nothing but cause for satisfaction in the present condition of Ireland. He says:—

“We have no shooting of landlords, no maiming of cattle, very little boycotting. . . We have substituted for them the **comparatively harmless** process of driving cattle. . .”

The suggestions contained in all these assertions are so false that we must deal with them *seriatim*. (1) “We have no shooting of landlords.”—By this Mr. Russell meant his audience to understand that the crime of shooting persons for personal revenge was at an end in Ireland. This is untrue. Since June last a large number of houses have been fired into and many persons have been shot at, as Mr. Birrell’s answers in the House of Commons proved. That no “landlord” has been assassinated by a bullet from behind a hedge is true; but it is equally true that the men who pulled the trigger on all the occasions that have been reported by the police might have killed men, women, or children inside the houses they fired upon. As it is, several have been wounded—not “landlords,” but poor farmers as a rule. Is the crime any the less dastardly on that account? Once, years ago, in a book called “Disturbed Ireland,” the same Mr. Russell called these shooting outrages “serious.” Now he calls them “slight.” Why?

(2) “We have no maiming of cattle.”—Untrue again; let Mr. Russell ask for the returns of awards of compensation for “malicious injuries” during the past three months, and he will see enough cases of cattle maiming to disprove his assertion. But does he seriously want us to believe that this accursed system of cattle driving is not cruelty to cattle? There is not a farmer in England or Scotland who would not hold that to make a herd of cattle gallop for miles along country lanes with a mob of hooligans, armed with drums and pikes and hurleys, at their heels, is the acme of cruelty. The truth is that this new torture on dumb animals is more safely and easily carried out when they are molested in a herd than when they are mutilated singly with a knife.

(3) “We have very little boycotting.”—At any rate there is enough of this inhuman tyranny to employ some four hundred constables in giving constant police protection to about two hundred Irish men and women. Within our own knowledge there are dozens of such cases, all of which have been reported in the newspapers during the last Session of Parliament, and admitted by Mr. Birrell or his Attorney-General. But, if there were only one single case, the whole strength of the British Government should be utilised to break the tyranny of the United Irish League, which organises these boycotts. It is sheer hypocrisy for Radical Governments to bemoan tyranny in Turkey and Russia whilst they knowingly permit oppressions as cruel within the limits of their own administration. Dr. Macnamara, M.P., a member of the Government, is also a member of the United Irish League!

(4) “We have substituted the **comparatively harmless** process of driving cattle.”—So says the new representative of the Board of Agri-

culture in Ireland, thus proving his incapacity to replace Sir Horace Plunkett. Imagine a Government official using such language of a campaign which has caused hundreds of policemen to be withdrawn from their proper districts in order to protect the property of the farmers ; of a " process " which is swiftly ruining the farming industry of Ireland ; of a gospel which has caused the proclamation of six counties as being " disturbed areas " requiring additional police ; of a reign of terror under which no respectable grazier who does not belong to the United Irish League can call his soul or his soil his own ! Every Irish Judge on the Bench flatly contradicts Mr. Russell ; they hold the situation to be exceedingly serious, as do we ourselves. The worst part of the business is that, when these melodramatic minions of the Government make such speeches, their utterances are immediately caught up by such agitators as Mr. Ginnell, M.P., whom they are proud to call their follower. And so Ireland, which could prosper if the firebrand speechmakers were suppressed by law, goes from bad to worse, from restlessness to ruin, and the men who incite her to such a course are called " patriots."

Mr. Redmond and Jarrow.

Mr. Redmond evidently credits British electors with an abnormal capacity for swallowing obvious inaccuracies. Speaking at Wexford (Oct. 21), he declared that :—

" We did not run a candidate at all in Jarrow. The Irishmen in Jarrow insisted upon running a candidate themselves without any instigation from us."—" Freeman," Oct. 22.

Now, what are the facts. Mr. T. P. O'Connor went down to Jarrow during the by-election and said :—

" They were determined to let the Government know that there was an Irish race in England as well as in America, and that that race was determined to assert its rights in Ireland and its rights in England as well. There were two millions of people or a twentieth of the population in this country Irish, and in point of population they should have 26 or 27 representatives in the House of Commons, instead of only one. . . They would demand that the two millions of people should be recognised in British as well as Irish constituencies. They had smoothed the way of Liberal candidates for years, but they were now going to adopt in the true sense of the term the policy of self-reliance."—" Freeman," June 14, 1907.

In the " Freeman's Journal " of June 29, there appeared a special article on the Jarrow election by Mr. Murphy, M.P. In it we find the following illuminating sentence :—" The moment that Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., went round among them, and explained the need of starting a candidate. . ." If, as Mr. Redmond says, the Jarrow Irishmen " insisted upon running a candidate without any instigation from us," why did Mr. T. P. O'Connor go round the Jarrow Irishmen and " explain the need of starting a candidate ? "

Mr. Murphy also affords valuable information upon another point. Mr. Redmond at Wexford explained that so far from harming the Labour candidate (Mr. Pete Curran), the effect of running a Nationalist candidate was to secure his return. What does Mr. Murphy say ? At the end of his article we read " It is the easiest task possible to show . . . how absurd and impossible are the views of Mr. Pete Curran, and how unworthy he is to receive support from Irishmen or democrats anywhere."

Is it wise—we put the question to Mr. Redmond—to boast of the securing the return of a man denounced in the columns of the leading Nationalist organ to be “unworthy to receive support from Irishmen?” So also the “Freeman” of June 19 devoted a long leader to the task of explaining why the Nationalist candidate should be preferred to the Labour candidate.

The Labour party will surely require more convincing proof than this of Mr. Redmond’s innocent intentions.

“Et Tu, Brute?”

The intolerance of the United Irish League knows no bounds. Never tired of asserting that in the county councils of Ireland all parties had fair play, a contention which we have always denied, it has now ejected Sir Thomas Esmonde from the honourable position of Chairman of the General Council of Irish County Councils, an office which he had held since its creation. Not because he was a bad Irishman, or an inefficient officer, or a slack councillor, but because—he left the U.I.L. to join the Sinn Féiners! Once we hoped that League politics could be kept apart from local government, but now the very man who introduced them so successfully has been hoist with his own petard and dismissed. Our hopes revive!

Local Amenities in Ireland.

* * * *

SCENE—Boyle Revision Court, Roscommon. Judge Wakely in the chair.

TIME—Monday evening, Oct. 14, 1907.

“Mr. George Tully had left the table, when Mr. Alty O’Connor (who was sitting amongst Mr. Tully’s supporters, notwithstanding a protest made against it, and who was constantly passing loud and insulting remarks) leaned over Mr. Jasper Tully’s back, and struck him on the back of the head. Mr. George Tully rushed forward to parry the blow. As if by concerted signal, Patrick O’Connor, Bernard O’Connor, and several others jumped up on the other side of the Court on the benches, and rushed across the witness table to where Mr. Tully was with his solicitor, and from that point of vantage made kicks at Mr. Tully, and in an instant Mr. Tully’s supporters and the other side were in grips on the witness table, on the bench, and along the seats. The papers of the Clerk of the Crown and Peace, Mr. J. H. Robinson, were scattered, and that gentleman and his assistant, Mr. McKeon, had to fly from their places.

“Several members of the Press were caught between the rival parties, and were jostled and pushed, one of them being rather seriously handled.

“Mr. Jasper Tully seemed to be the person singled out for attack, and was caught in the bench beside his solicitor, and struck and kicked at by Bernard O’Connor, Patrick O’Connor, and Randal Rice, who had mounted the witness table over him. Alty O’Connor was plunging about the back benches, and rushed towards the Judge, Mr. Tully’s arms were pinned, and the space was so confined that his friends could not go near to save him.

“Judge Wakely leaned down from the bench, and grasped several of the struggling parties, who were belabouring Mr. Tully, but

to no purpose. The police were also powerless, and in the presence of the Judge the scimmages went on furiously.

"Alfred O'Connor, who seemed almost bereft of reason, was constantly jumping up from one bench to another, and kicking and shouting hoarsely, endeavouring vainly to join in the fight which was being waged over Mr. Tully. It took the united efforts of several police and people to hold him down.

"Mr. Patrick O'Connor was up on the bench, and the Judge had to take him by the collar of the coat, and there was a struggle.

"Mr. P. O'Connor—Let me go, my lord.

"At length Mr. Tully was released, and blood flowed freely from his nose, caused by a savage kick. The official papers of the court were covered with blood."—From "*Roscommon Herald*," Oct. 19, 1907.

Sinn Fein.

There is a touch of delightful humour, either Irish or American, in the prospect of the two rival "virile campaigns" which are to perambulate Great Britain during the coming winter and to stir up British interest in the disintegration of the Empire. Both armies are of Hibernian extraction, their generals are "patriots" who come over with the highest credentials, their sinews of war are brought largely from America, and their main object is to destroy one another. The Irish Parliamentary party began first, and it began very badly, preaching the doctrine of Home Rule in small houses to small audiences. Everywhere its representatives are checkmated by the memories of the British public, which does not forget the open hostility that the Irish party has always displayed in the House of Commons to British credit and British dignity, nor the absurd antics to which that party has had recourse in order to try and degrade the Mother of Parliaments by advertising their own bad behaviour within her walls. Nevertheless they continue to preach the old doctrine with which the last generation of British electors was made so painfully familiar; they assert that Ireland is brutally treated by our "foreign" Government, shamefully overtaxed and kept under the heel of the oppressor. But they do not allude to the facts which are perfectly well known to their audiences, namely, that Ireland is governed under exactly the same laws as England and Scotland and Wales, that she has taken no less than £165,000,000 out of the British Exchequer in the last thirty years, and that agitation by the United Irish League (of which all the Irish Parliamentary party **must** be members) is responsible for the disgraceful condition of the "disturbed areas" in Ireland to-day. Finally, this party imagines that it appeals to the hearts of its hearers by asserting that it asks for support in the name of "the Irish people."

Close upon its heels come the representatives of "Sinn Fein," a more intellectual and rapidly developing organisation, which also speaks for "the Irish people." It opens the fight by declaring that the Irish Parliamentary party has been in existence for thirty-five years, has proved itself utterly incompetent, and that its day is done. It proceeds to say that "the greatest enemy of Ireland to-day is to be found in the apathy, shortsightedness, and disunion of the Irish people themselves"; and, whilst denying that "England is the enemy," it declares that Sinn Fein "wants no truck with Imperial murderers and robbers." Such was the language used at the first "Sinn Fein" meeting in London on

Oct. 18 ; but perhaps we shall inform our readers more succinctly of the policy which they are asked to support by quoting from the official statement of the objects of "Sinn Fein." These are said to be :—

"A negation of the policy of howling at England. Instead of denouncing England, Ireland will proceed calmly and methodically to uproot everything English within her four seas, and put something Irish wherever something English has been up-torn. Irish ideas will substitute West-British ideas, Irish manufactures will inexorably oust English goods out of the Irish market. The speech, thought, and action of the nation will gradually become more Irish and less English ; and day by day Ireland will stand out more and more before the nation as a distinct entity ; self-centred and self-contained, and, of course, self-governed. . ."

We doubt whether such a programme will commend itself to the wisdom of "West Britain," even when drafted in the name of "the people of Ireland." It certainly will be bitterly resisted by a million and a half of Irish loyalists in Ireland, whose steadfast adherence to the Union entitles them also to a hearing when "the people of Ireland" are summoned as witnesses.

Glorious Peckham Rye.

From an eye-witness :—

"The 'monster' Nationalist meeting to enlighten the British public on the real position of the Irish question was held at Peckham Rye on Sunday, Oct. 13. Shortly before the time named for the meeting the Salvation Army band played within 50 yards of the place selected for the display of Nationalist oratory, and drew a considerable number of people to the scene ; these, together with some hundred others who were taking part in an argument on Socialism, helped to swell the crowd until there must have been about 1,500 people present.

"The 'monster' meeting opened by the Chairman, Mr. Justin O'Byrne, telling us how the Irishmen in, as he described it, an alien country were assembled in their thousands that afternoon to endorse the action of the Irish Parliamentary party in the past and to pass certain resolutions to cheer them on their way. These resolutions were proposed by Mr. Donnelly in a speech of about a quarter of an hour, which was received with a certain amount of enthusiasm by portions of the audience.

"A Mr. Brogan seconded the resolutions, and adjured his hearers to 'remember '98,' appealing especially to the men of Wexford ; but it seemed that there were not many of them present, or if there were that they had forgotten the incident.

"For some little time we had heard in the distance the banging of drums, the screeches of the bagpipes, and other sounds portending the arrival of a procession. This procession shortly arrived. Bands were there of all sorts, musical and otherwise, accompanied by bearers of green banners desiring us all to remember 1893, and other periods of Irish disturbance, as well as by the usual 'reach-me-down' crowd which attends every demonstration. With their assistance the audience soon numbered about 3,000.

"Shortly after the arrival of the bands, &c., Mr. T. P. O'Connor,

M.P., addressed the audience in a speech of about an hour. He told us that Irish Nationalist affairs had never been better than they were that day, and that by the help of the Labour party, whom the Nationalist party always supported, Home Rule must be before long secured. (By the bye, he did **not** tell the Labour party, to which he was especially appealing, that, with a view to helping them, the Nationalists had put up one of their own men at Jarrow to oppose the Labour candidate.) Mr. O'Connor's memory of the past particularly impressed me, as after remarking that he was entering his 60th year, he went on to say that he well remembered as a child the distressing condition of Ireland during the potato famine of 1848!!

"Mr. O'Connor was followed by Mr. Hazelton, M.P., who delivered a short speech with much fervour, and prophesied that Home Rule must come, as the democracy would insist on justice being done to Ireland after years of oppression by the alien British Government, and so on.

"Alderman Joyce, M.P., then spoke, and told us of his experiences as a seaman in days gone by: how he had piloted many ships up the Shannon, and was now employed in piloting the Irish party to the port of Home Rule. I felt rather confused at this, as, owing probably to my want of nautical knowledge, I was not aware that the seamen did the pilotage. It also seemed to me that Alderman Joyce was rather usurping the position of Mr. Redmond, who, I understand, claims to be doing all the Parliamentary pilotage.

"As all these speakers declared that they represented 'Ireland,' I began to suppose that the Unionist minority opposed to Home Rule was a myth, but it had never seemed so to me before.

"Then the drums banged, the bagpipes screeched, the processions straggled off, and we all went away feeling that though not much enlightened or impressed, we had spent on the whole a pleasant afternoon at Peckham Rye."

THE "SINN FEIN" CAMPAIGN.

We present to the readers of the November number of "IRISH FACTS" a verbatim report of the opening meeting of the "Sinn Fein" campaign in England. It is instructive as showing the wide divergence of method between the Nationalist Parliamentary party and the Sinn Feiners. Both, however, presume to speak for "the people of Ireland."

On Friday, October 18, 1907, the Sinn Fein campaign was started at the Lambeth Baths.

Dr. Mark Ryan, who occupied the chair, in opening the meeting at which about 500 were present, after addressing the people for some minutes in Gaelic, as did also the succeeding speakers, said :—

We are here to-night to inaugurate the winter session of the Sinn Fein movement, and also to welcome Mr. Griffiths, and to hear him and several other gentlemen on the Sinn Fein policy and movement. The failure of 35 years of Parliamentary methods has convinced us of the necessity of adopting the Sinn Fein policy, a policy which appeals to our people everywhere, which is making rapid progress among them, and which they are taking up not alone in Ireland, but wherever you find thoughtful, intelligent, patriotic Irishmen. It is our duty to study and to know all we can about the policy which has succeeded in countries similarly situated to our own, and if we find that it is the best policy and the one most likely to succeed, then we ought to adopt it and support it by every means in our power. (Cheers.)

Mr. O'Heggarty said that, after a formal resolution had been proposed, seconded, and spoken to, in support of the Sinn Fein policy, they invited any two supporters of the Irish Parliamentary party to propose and second an amendment and put it to that meeting of London Irishmen. (Cheers.)

Mr. Gavan Duffy proposed the following resolution :—"That this representative meeting of Irishmen and Irishwomen resident in London heartily endorses the Sinn Fein policy, and pledges itself to further that policy by establishing branches of the National Council in London."

He said :—Fellow countrymen, I ask you to give your serious attention to the subject we are discussing to-night whatever your political views at present may be. I think you all recognise that Ireland is going through a great social, economic, moral, and political revolution, and that the Ireland of to-morrow will be very different from the Ireland of to-day. You also recognise, I think, that a stronger and

MORE MILITANT POLICY

must be carried on in the future if progress is to be made with the national cause. I, therefore, ask for your profound attention for us to expound the Sinn Fein policy in order that everyone may be able to give it a fair and careful consideration. In the first place, let us have

done once and for all with the constant talking about England being the enemy. I know that Ireland has suffered and is still suffering from the malice and the ignorance and prejudices of England—(loud cheers)—but I assert most emphatically that the greatest enemy of Ireland to-day is to be found in the apathy, short-sightedness, and disunion of the Irish people themselves. I say without hesitation that if we had a strong national movement in Ireland, having the support of the Irish people, thoroughly organised, determined in its aims, and clear as to what those aims were, we could force a settlement. It is just because the English Press has seen that, that Sinn Fein has been hailed with a howl of anger and derision. It is very different with those who can judge more impartially. I was reading in a German paper the other day the significant statement that, though England might smile at these enthusiasts of the Sinn Fein movement, the real statesman would see in that movement not a thing to laugh at, but the spark that might kindle the barrel of gunpowder. The first essential that I wish to put before you is that we must be united. There is no use in perpetuating the old divisions for the advantage of England. While we go on quarrelling about trivialities, the powers that be continue to get the best of things; once we were united a great change would come about. We do not advocate

PHYSICAL FORCE,

because we recognise that it is not practicable to-day, neither do we advocate Parliamentarism, because we are convinced that the Parliamentary party has had a fair trial, and that the days of the Parliamentary policy are done. (Cheers.) Let us see now whether we cannot agree upon a Sinn Fein platform. There are a great many things with which the Irish Nationalists must agree which find a prominent place in Sinn Fein. You all, of course, agree with the absolute necessity of reviving our industries, that it is essential, if Irish nationality is to be preserved, that we should preserve our language, which is the very basestone of our nationality. You all agree that our educational system is absolutely rotten, and that no Irishman worthy of the name can join the Army of England. (Cheers.) Sinn Fein policy proposes to call into being a grand general national council composed of the representatives of the whole people of Ireland. Sinn Fein proposes that this National Council should elect an executive composed of the best men in the country—the men, therefore, most capable of directing the country in all the branches of government. Sinn Fein, therefore, has in view the establishment, besides that Council, of a body of experts in each branch of political, economical, social, and educational subjects—a body of experts who will direct the country, and to whom, from their position as representatives of the people, and from their character as the best exponents of their particular subjects in the land, the willing support of the Irish people will be given.

It would be impossible to put bounds to the work that such a National Council with such an executive could do. Let us take some of

THE MAIN SUBJECTS

which agitate Ireland to-day. Take, first, the industrial question. As you know, we send some £20,000,000 abroad for goods which we could get and which are manufactured in Ireland. We do

that because we are thoughtless, and because we do not realise the possibilities for Ireland of spending our money on the products of the country. In every town in Ireland you will find the same thing. From Dublin Castle down to the hut of the poorest peasant in the West you will find English goods taken in without any hesitation, sometimes of malice aforethought, but very often simply through carelessness, people not realising their duty to their country. This sort of thing has got to stop if Irish manufacture is to be saved. It must be perfectly obvious to everyone that a strong central authority in Dublin, directing the whole country, forming opinion, educating people up to their duties, telling them where to get this and that Irish manufacture, would have an effect upon the prosperity of Ireland. Such a body would command the voluntary obedience of the local authorities in the various parts of Ireland, and would be able to direct their expenditure, amounting to four or five millions a year, towards Irish manufactures. It is also proposed to start new industries on the strength of the new spirit suffused throughout the country. There are many other things the National Council could do. In the co-operative movement there are the germs of a most valuable and far-reaching reform, but it can make no progress as things are. But once the National Council was established that movement would be shown to the people as a truly national movement, and they would take advantage of it. Then, again, there are the Irish railways, which are one of the greatest curses of the country. (Cheers.) They have throttled one industry after another, and they are to-day

A SERIOUS BLOCK

in the progress of the struggling industries that exist. If you could get a strong central executive rivalising the railways by establishing means of transport by water and by land, other than the railways, you would at once force the railways to their knees. Then there is the question of a national bank. Here we might learn a lesson from the Englishman. He does not leave his money idle in the bank: he invests it. The Irishman, on the contrary, does not seem to realise that money makes money, but leaves his money wasting for years in the bank to be lent by the bank to forward the industries of England at far cheaper rates than it would be lent to the Irish farmer. A central authority could establish a national bank, and teach the people to use their money to develop the industries of their country.

Then, again, Sinn Fein would make known on the Continent possibilities of Irish industries and manufactures, and the money that is spent to-day in keeping some 80 excellent gentlemen at Westminster would be far better spent in thus promoting the trade of Ireland. For some time there has been a steady invasion of Ireland by speculators from England and Scotland, by men who come there to exploit the country and get its wealth into their own hands, and besides you have men coming into Ireland and filling important posts and obtaining emoluments that ought to go to Irishmen. This is a very subtle form of attack upon Ireland, and the only means to meet it is to

ORGANISE PUBLIC OPINION,

and educate the people to see what the foreigner is doing, and to take it out of his hands and do it themselves. This will not be done so long

as we send members to the English House of Commons. We all agree that education must be reformed, but you will not get education reformed so long as you trust to England to do it, because it is not in her interests to do it. It is possible for a National Council to establish rival schools in Ireland in order to force the hands of the English to give a representative system of education and the means of making it thoroughly good, Irish and National. A National Council, again, would see that people took an interest in education. The school attendance figures at present show that 35 per cent. of the children registered do not go to school. Speaking of education in the broader sense, at present we see our country Anglicised from one end to the other. At present we see that it is the aim of a very large proportion of Irishmen to be English—to be respectable, as they call it, and genteel—and they succeed in being un-Irish. That can only be stopped by a strong Government in the country such as we propose to found. About the language movement. If the language were allowed to die out the Anglicisation of the country would succeed at a rapid rate. It is therefore an imperative duty upon Irish men and women to study that language, or at least to act as propagandists in the matter, and see that the children are taught their native tongue. (Cheers.) Then take the financial incubus upon Ireland which the Irish Parliamentary party brings up annually and never succeeds in getting anything done. That can only be removed by a strong and

VIRILE AGITATION

in the country itself, and such an agitation can only be set on foot when the eyes of the people are turned away from Westminster, and you found a vigorous organisation with its headquarters in Ireland. Take the founding of arbitration courts, everything that tends to weaken the influence of England in the country is of use and must not be neglected. It is quite possible for Sinn Fein to establish through such a National Council arbitration courts in every part of the country which would largely supersede the existing courts of England. It is only through such a strong organisation that you will prevent thoughtless Irishmen from giving their services to the British Army. It is only by bringing home to the people their duty on the matter that you will succeed in depriving England of the immense benefit conferred upon her by supplying her with these troops who thoughtlessly join the ranks of her Army. (Cheers.) Take the drink question, the consumption question, the workhouse question—all these things are dealt with by England in the way of appointing Royal Commissions, who begin and end in virtuous words. They never achieve anything, but, unfortunately, they succeed to this extent, that they very often quench an agitation in Ireland for a particular object which a Commission is established to inquire into. Sinn Fein would put a stop to that. A National Council with its executive would go into these questions, not with an idea of shelving them, but of dealing with them. A National Council could start the re-afforestation of the country, the arterial drainage of the country—all those measures which are absolutely essential if, instead of the decrepid population we have at present, so full of consumptives and lunatics, we are to have a healthy population working out its own salvation. These are things you will not get done at Westminster. Then there is the point of the drink question. The taxation has been

so arranged that three-fourths of it are paid indirectly, and a large proportion of it by drink. Sinn Fein would start a movement

AGAINST PAYING THIS TAXATION

to England to strengthen her power and at the same time to injure most vitally the constitution of our people. A great temperance movement must be set on foot if we are to save the Irish people, and Sinn Fein alone can do it. The Parliamentary party, it may be said, can do these things, or, at least, that they can be done with the Parliamentary party going on at Westminster. I think not. In the first place, take the financial side of it, you will not get the funds necessary for such a movement on a Parliamentary basis. The Irish people, and above all the Irish Americans, who are shrewder than the people at home, see that the money they have contributed in the past has been spent too often in an unsatisfactory and unproductive manner, and when those people see a movement which appeals to the best instincts of the country, a movement founded on noble ideals, and, at the same time, most practical and useful for the prosperity of the country—when they see it going strong with its National Council and executive, they will contribute far more readily than they ever will do to a party which has been going on with the best intentions at Westminster for 35 years and obtained next to nothing. (Cries of “No, no,” and “Yes, yes.”) New blood is wanted, and unless you have the movement of Sinn Fein, which alone can rally to it the strength of the country, nothing can be done. At present you have an apathetic and degenerate people who are being gradually Anglicised. Sinn Fein appeals to you to unite upon the one platform in order to achieve the independence and prosperity of our country. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. O'Sheehan, in seconding the resolution, said that the withdrawal of the Irish members from Parliament was one of the planks of Sinn Fein policy, because of its moral effect. By a compact entered into with the first English invaders Ireland was to rule her own affairs in her own way. That was put into abeyance by the Act of Union, which was the most colossal piece of fraud and bribery known to history. It was common ground with Parliamentarians that such an Act had no moral or binding force upon Ireland. The Irish members by going to Westminster stultified themselves, and denied the right of Irishmen to govern Ireland. There was also the point that these members who attended Parliament had to take an oath of allegiance to the Constitution and King of England, by which they were bound to oppose the restoration to Ireland of her historic right. Parliamentarism, by teaching the Irish people to look to London, robbed them of initiative and self-respect. Since the Act of Union any great measure obtained from England had been obtained solely by the agitation of the Irish people at home, or had been given by England at a time when she was pursuing a diplomatic game in some other part of the world. Was it their desire to enlist in the British Army and Navy? Was their idea of Ireland's rights that of a Colony with not so much rights as Australia or Canada? Sinn Fein wanted no truck with

IMPERIAL MURDERERS AND ROBBERS.

(Cheers.) It was not their intention to allow members to go to the English Parliament to misrepresent Ireland. The greater part of the

£25,000 a year which was spent by the Irish Parliamentary party Sinn Fein proposed to apply to the extension of Irish trade abroad.

Mr. Arthur Griffith supported the resolution. He said:—I have read recently in English papers a number of resolutions passed by my countrymen defining the Irish demand as a right over the control of their local affairs, or the status of a Colony. That is not the voice of Ireland, she is no English shire or Colony. The only demand she is entitled to make is one for national independence. If England wants peace she can have peace when she takes her left hand from off the throat of Ireland, and her right hand out of her pocket. (Loud cheers.) She is not going to have peace in return for Local Government Acts or for granting to Ireland the status of a Colony. (Cheers.) There has been a good deal of diplomacy, or what has passed for it, practised by the spokesmen of Ireland who go to the British Parliament for a number of years past. The English people have been told that the Irish people only wanted so much or so little. I do not believe it was a wise diplomacy, or that for a moment England was impressed by it, but I believe it has furnished to England a weapon to strike at Ireland. I think the Sinn Fein movement will remove any misapprehension about what the Irish national demand is. Any Irish politician who has a conception of the English character other than the conception that the English character is

“WOE TO THE VANQUISHED,”

is, I believe, an incapable politician. In the belief that “woe to the vanquished” is the key-note to the English character some years ago, we endeavoured to construct a policy to replace that which, since the deposition of Parnell, has whittled down Irish demands and attempted to make Ireland as harmless to England as England would wish her to be. Of the defects of that Sinn Fein policy you have heard in the last three or four months from a hundred organs in the Press. I am not here to apologise for that policy. It is not the policy which has swayed Ireland of late years, it is not the policy to which you have subscribed £1,500,000, and which has given you in return an Ireland with a million less of population, with pauperism increased 600 per cent., with taxation increased 40 per cent., and with the tilled lands decreased by 25 per cent., and turns to you and says, “Behold, how you have made progress!” When I was a boy I read that the secret of England’s greatness lay in the Family Bible, but I came to the conclusion that the secret lay in England’s magnificent genius of exploitation. I saw that everything in Ireland was exploited to England’s advantage. To close the door on that exploitation of Ireland is the idea of Sinn Fein. We found two obstacles in the way, and it took us ten years to get a Sinn Fein policy. The two obstacles were the political idea and the educational idea. The political idea for the last 25 years has been that the nation was not to win its salvation by work, but by hiring bodies of men to work for us; and the educational idea was that the object of man was not to work. Fifteen years ago, at all events, in Ireland the ambition laid before every young man was in 95 per cent. of the colleges and higher schools to fit himself to gain a position in which he would have nothing to do.

NOTHING TO DO

was supposed to represent the highest point a young Irishman

could reach, and nothing to do has been played down to with its usual shrewdness by the English Government. The Civil Service charges in Ireland are 300 per cent. higher now than they were 30 years ago. They have been providing situations for the people whose ambition was to have nothing to do. That idea has spread into the people until work and labour have become vulgar. If you preach Sinn Fein to a people with such an idea, you naturally meet with all the animosity that a heresy encounters. When you tell the people that they themselves must do the work, and that they cannot shift it to other people's shoulders, they refuse to listen. This is our heresy to-day, and we mean to make it orthodox to-morrow, and then the future of Ireland will be safe and secure. This is the point where we and the Parliamentarians part company. Their teaching has been that the Irishman's duty is to place his vote in the ballot box, to subscribe to the funds, and to go home and sit down. Sinn Fein teaching is strictly opposed to that. It is that no man can do the other's work in the Irish nation, that every man is the Irish nation, and that the nation can only progress by the individual exertions of its independent units. (Cheers.) Is there any man who believes that if 20 years ago the Irish people had stopped filling England's Army, infusing courage into England's Army, infusing the notion of constitutionalism into England's pretence to rule Ireland, throwing her markets at the feet of English manufacturers, handing over the control of her banking and insurance systems and of all the commercial system of their country to England—is there any man here, whether he be a Parliamentarian of 20 years or of 50, who believes that Ireland would not be very much nearer Home Rule to-day than she is? Is there any man here who believes that if when the British Government in 1894 foreswore Home Rule, the Irish people had then adopted the Sinn Fein policy, the Irish representatives had retired from Parliament, and Ireland had withdrawn the strength of her young men from the British Army, that, six years later, when England was

FIGHTING FOR HER LIFE

in South Africa, she would have been able to refuse Home Rule or even repeal of the Union if Ireland had demanded it? (Loud and long cheers.) What we want to ask the Irish people in connection with this Sinn Fein policy is this, are they going to repeat in perhaps six or seven years' time, when the circumstances that arose in connection with South Africa may again arise, the mistake of 1899? If they are not, then let them recall the members, recall the young men who saved England in South Africa, take over the control of their own schools, their commerce, and internal finance, and when the next South African war comes for England, it will not be in her power to refuse any demands of Ireland. In Ireland we have, with occasional intervals, been sitting on two stools for this last century, denying the right of England to rule our country, and at the same time sitting at the council table where Englishmen make the laws and rule us. No nation can continue in such a position of denying the right, and at the same time of admitting the right of another country to rule it. Ireland has got to get off one of those stools and to stand up straight and say what she means, and what she is going to do. What we want to do is to face the facts of the situation, and in nearly all the criticism of the Sinn Fein policy there is an aversion to face the facts

in Ireland, and a disposition to say everything is going well and nothing is required except that people should keep their mouths shut and let one section of the people dictate the policy of the country. We have been

KEEPING OUR MOUTHS SHUT

in Ireland for 35 years, and we are worse off than if we had criticised all through. The facts of the situation are these:— Since the Parliamentary movement started the country is a million less in men and women, her pauperism has increased 600 per cent., her taxation has increased 40 per cent., her tilled land has decreased by a million acres, and now the Land Act threatens the whole community with bankruptcy. The people were told that that Act justified the existence of the Parliamentary movement, that it was the greatest Act passed since the Union. Well, the price of land in Ireland in the decade 1860–70, before the Parliamentary movement, was $21\frac{3}{4}$ years' purchase. As the result of the Land League movement, the price fell to $15\frac{1}{2}$ years' purchase. The average price before the passing of the Land Act of 1893 was from 18–20 years' purchase, but since the passing of that Act the price has gone up to over 30 years' purchase, and it is now double what it was before the Land League struggle. The land is not value for the money, but the farmers have rushed into buying. Now, when the crash comes, when the farmers are unable to meet the exorbitant price, when a series of bad harvests renders them unable to pay, who will have to pay? The whole people will have to pay. The Act is so strict as to throw the responsibility on the whole community, who are given no voice whatever in determining or preventing the farmer purchasing at any price. When the Act was being passed we pointed out what it meant, but we had the whole of

THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTY LEAGUED AGAINST US,

and the people were told it was the greatest measure ever passed for Ireland. The only thing is to keep on advising the farmers not to purchase, but to wait until a further revision of rents. That is the only thing to prevent the bankruptcy of Ireland. That is the dark side of matters. On the other hand, at the present time in Ireland there is a better and more intelligent national spirit among the younger generation than there has been for nearly a hundred years. (Cheers.) So far as young Ireland is concerned, the River Boyne has become again only a geographical expression. (Cheers.) There are two factors working in Ireland which are making for a strong and self-reliant Ireland. The chief and greater of the two is the Gaelic League. By its system of agricultural banks it is freeing Irish agriculture from the greatest curse which hangs over it, except landlordism—the curse of the Gomben man and the Jew. We are getting less brilliant and more dogged in Ireland, and if we want to gain anything for our country the virtues of doggedness and tenacity, which the English for a long time possessed in excess, are very necessary to us. We have realised that the freedom of a nation is not to be won in a day, but requires a dogged spirit to gain it. Among younger Ireland, undoubtedly, there is a serious grappling with serious questions which has led to a great deal of stir and life throughout the country. But the older Ireland of to-day is as stolidly

conservative as it was 20 years ago. The Irish Parliamentary party has very recently asked,

"WHAT HAS THE SINN FEIN PARTY DONE?"

and has contrasted it with what they have done. The Sinn Fein movement is two years in existence, and has received during that time subscriptions amounting to £350 to carry out its propaganda. The Irish Parliamentary party during the same time has received £48,000. In return that party has offered Ireland a Bill which Ireland unanimously rejected. The Sinn Fein party assembled together some twelve months ago the Poor Law Unions of Ireland. It has got them to organise a protective scheme for Irish industries which will come into operation on January 1st next. This protective scheme will result in giving at least an expenditure of £100,000 extra in Ireland, and will mean the employment of about 5,000 more people. (Cheers.) From this beginning we intend to go on until we have substituted for the workhouse which England planted in our country, a system which will give to the able-bodied pauper work on the reclamation of the waste lands of Ireland, while the infirm will be treated not as paupers, but as persons entitled to the consideration of the nation and to outdoor relief. (Cheers.) Again, in connection with the Irish sea fisheries, we have for the last 25 years, probably for the last 75, been requesting the British Government to expend some of the money wrested in taxation in improving the piers and harbours, and the facilities for the fishermen of Ireland. Now Ireland has 2,000 miles of coastline, the finest natural harbours in the world, and is surrounded by seas teeming with fish. In Scotland last year the fisheries yielded nearly £3,000,000, while those of Ireland yielded only about £300,000. Sir Thomas Esmonde introduced into the Wexford County Council a scheme to raise County Stock at 3½ per cent., and to use that stock to the extent of £40,000 in improving and building piers and harbours. Well, the Wexford County Council were quite determined to oppose any measure, no matter how good, that came from the Sinn Fein. They voted solidly against Sir Thomas Esmonde's proposal, which was rejected. But we will have that proposal carried yet in Wexford, and in every county in Ireland. The policy of Sinn Fein is merely

A POLICY OF SELF-RELIANCE

in action. There is absolutely nothing new or original in it. Five years ago you would not have got more than 5 per cent. of the people of Ireland to listen to the Sinn Fein idea. We have now some 25 per cent. strongly supporting us, and five years hence we shall, I believe, have 75 per cent. When the day comes when every individual Irish man and woman realises the simple fact that in himself and herself is the Irish nation, as the people of other countries have realised that in the individual is the nation, the future of Ireland will be absolutely secured. In five years' time we shall have an Ireland, I believe, conscious of its own strength and courageous enough to use it, and we shall have ended for ever a question that from the time I was a boy has irritated me. That is the question, "What can Ireland do?" It is a most cowardly and nation-killing question, and has inspired a distrust and disbelief in themselves among the Irish people. When we hear all this moaning about a National University in Ireland, when we hear it said that the

British Government will not give it, and therefore Ireland cannot get it, I look to Hungary and say that the people of that country did not wait for the Austrians to build one for them, but built it for themselves. And when we hear about national education in Ireland being neglected, I look to Poland and say that, national education being refused, the people of Poland established a national education of their own. I turn to Finland and see that, when the Russian Government refused Home Rule, the Finlanders, instead of throwing themselves against the armies of Russia, by passive resistance forced the Russian Government to its knees. What these peoples have done for themselves, cannot the Irish people do for themselves? Among them there is an absolute belief in this, that, if those who profess to govern you will not govern you properly, you must yourselves take on the function of government, and when that idea is got into the Irish people the

END OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT

must come. Although British government is also misgovernment, it is not British misgovernment we are against, but British government in Ireland. (Cheers.) If the government of Ireland by England were as good as it is bad, it would not alter by one jot our position. (Cheers.) This has been one of the misrepresentations vitiating all Irish thought on the subject for years past—the denunciation of British government in Ireland because of its bad character. Its bad character has aggravated the position in Ireland, but that has had nothing to do with its usurpation, and our duty is to rid the country of it. We in Ireland are willing for peace, just as willing as the people of Hungary were for peace when fighting Austria: but the peace must come on the same terms—the peace must come when the English Government clears itself bag and baggage out of Ireland. (Cheers.)

The English Government is not going to do that for the asking. It is strong enough at present to hold us down, but it is not strong enough to hold a people down in perpetuity who are determined to rise. It remains for us by taking back all the powers we have allowed to slip into English hands and by using them for the nation to

MAKE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT IMPOSSIBLE.

(Cheers.) I believe we can do that. For nearly a century we have been stripping ourselves of our defensive armour, throwing away our weapons, and then attempting to stand before a powerful enemy. Everything, from the school to the bank, is in the hands of England. It is the Sinn Fein plan to capture every one of these for the Irish nation. When we can do that we will have done what all our resolutions and even all our agitations could never do, we shall have made it unprofitable for the English Government to continue in the country. (Cheers.) We can then give to England the same answer that Hungary gave to Austria in 1865, when she organised herself into a *de facto* Government and gave an historic answer, "We mean to drive Austrian rule out of Hungary and hold Hungary for the Hungarians." Now that is what we mean to work to do in the Sinn Fein movement, by the method of seizing for Ireland, holding for Ireland, and occupying in strength every position of force in the country, and

holding in that way Ireland for the Irish, until it becomes unprofitable to continue to hold it for the English.

WE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS

on the subject that we are going to overturn English government in two or five years, but we know that on this policy we can do it in time, and that however long it may take to capture this position and organise the whole nation behind us, it must do so in the end, because there is absolutely no policy or hope for any people other than reliance upon themselves. In that reliance and in our belief in the courage of the Irish people, we intend to go on with this policy whether it takes ten or twenty years, and to win in the end. (Cheers.)

In response to an invitation for written questions, a number were handed up. One was, "If according to the Sinn Fein policy it is unpatriotic for an Irishman to serve in the British Army, how do the many Sinn Feinists in the War Office and other departments of the Civil Service reconcile their employment with their principles?" To this Mr. Griffith replied: In the National Council programme we laid it down that no men serving in the Army of England could be admitted to the Council. We drew a distinction between a man serving in the Army and in the Civil Service. In regard to the Sinn Fein policy, whatever England may do she can do nothing without resort to armed force.

Another question was, "What means of enforcing its resolution, will the proposed Irish Council possess?" Mr. Griffith: The proposed Irish Council is to be a body binding together and directing the County Councils, Poor Law Boards, and Harbour Boards of Ireland, which have an annual expenditure of £6,000,000. The Council, therefore, would very largely have the power of directing the expenditure of that money and directing unity of action among public bodies.

Asked how Irish industries could be established without cheap fuel, Mr. Griffith said that in the peat bogs they had the necessary fuel.

A further question was: "Seeing that the present Nationalist representatives are used as pawns by the Roman Catholic Church, what guarantee has the Orangeman that the policy of the Sinn Fein will not also be dictated by the priests?"

Mr. Griffith replied: I am hearing for a long time that Irish Nationalist policy is always dictated from Rome. There is no doubt that attempts have been made to do that, but I deny that there is any effective dictation, and the idea that any section of the community would be denied fair play in the Irish National Council is a most unjust and absurd belief. (Cheers.) The dividing lines in Ireland are drawn, unfortunately, co-equal with the political lines, and, therefore, political and religious bitternesses are founded. I have never known an instance where Catholics have ill-treated a Protestant as a Protestant, or Protestants ill-treated a Catholic as a Catholic. There has been ill-treatment on both sides in Ireland, but one as Unionists and the other as Nationalists. The idea that the Irish Council would differentiate against a man on account of his religion is false and erroneous.

Questioned as to the ground on which he said the Act of Union was illegal, Mr. Griffith replied that it was not on the ground of bribery,

but on the grounds that no body to which powers were delegated had the right to sell those powers to another body. The members of the Irish Parliament had no more power to hand that Parliament over to England than the members of the English Parliament would have to vote England to the Emperor of Germany.

Asked whether the landlords would be forced to leave Ireland, Mr. Griffith said they did not desire to see the landlords or any body of Irishmen expatriated from Ireland. They wanted to get them all to work for Ireland.

The invitation for any two supporters of the Parliamentary Nationalist party to come forward and defend their policy met with no response. A Socialistic amendment, however, was handed up, declaring that the policy of Sinn Fein was unworthy of the confidence of the people of Ireland, and in favour of the Nationalisation of the land and of all the means of production.

This the Chairman refused to allow to be put to the meeting. The would-be mover and seconder were, amid considerable confusion, permitted to speak, after which the original resolution was put, and declared to be carried unanimously, and the meeting terminated.

THE HOME RULE CAMPAIGN.

It is decreed by "the leader of the Irish party at home and abroad" that a virile campaign shall be set on foot through England and Scotland during the coming winter. It is to be personally conducted by John Redmond himself; and its object is to awaken the people of England to a due sense of Ireland's wrongs, in the hope that the Union of Great Britain and Ireland may be finally demolished and that Separation shall take its place. I understand that the campaign has already begun, and that the Unionist citadel of Peckham Rye was attacked on October 13, when a stout triumvirate of Nationalist speakers talked round the walls and blew their own trumpets.

The Green Peril.

But it must not be supposed that "Ould Ireland" is laying siege to London alone. She has laid her plans to capture Yorkshire and Lancashire in the course of the next few months, and is pouring the best of her patriot orators across St. George's Channel in order that every hamlet and township in benighted Britain may have an opportunity of tasting the "real thing." Mr. Redmond himself will woo the stalwart men of Merthyr Tydvil, whilst Mr. Keir Hardie is blessing the disloyal Babus of Bengal; and when the lion of the Roman Catholic Church has swallowed the lamb of Welsh Nonconformity, he has promised to go to Glasgow to initiate the conversion of the Auld Kirk to his views. So it will be seen that we are threatened with a "Green Peril" at our very doors.

Obviously what is wanted in the first instance is **Funds** for the United Irish League. It is yearly losing ground, both at home and abroad. Mr. William O'Brien is no longer its chief benefactor, the American subscriptions are sadly falling off, and even Australia seems to be tiring at last of sending proofs of sympathy that are convertible into cash. Therefore the sworn enemies of England are going to pull at British purse-strings once again, to see whether they cannot scrape together enough money to finance them over the coming winter and the next Session of Parliament. No doubt they will first tap at the doors of English Roman Catholics, and, with honied accents, beg their bread like the mendicant friars of old. They will preach the poverty of Ireland, and the bitter injustice with which she has always been treated. I gravely doubt, however, whether they will tell the whole truth to their co-religionists on this side of the water. Will they tell that the Land Act of 1881 reduced Irish rents by over two million pounds sterling; that the Arrears Act of 1883 wiped out two million pounds' worth of arrears; that over **£40,000,000** has been advanced by the Imperial Exchequer under various Land Purchase Acts for the purchase of Irish land; that the Act of 1903 involved a further advance of **£112,000,000**; that the long list of Irish Labourers, Light Railways, Migration, and Agricultural measures have involved the expenditure of **£3,316,000**; or a grand total of **£164,525,000** advanced by Great Britain to Ireland since 1879? These are the figures given by the Secretary of the United

Irish League in London to a representative of the "Westminster Gazette." Will these orators go on to tell their Catholic audiences the sort of language used in Ireland about Great Britain at a meeting of the Catholic Truth Society?

"We have no power to call the ten plagues of Egypt on the English. Would to God that we had that power. (Applause and laughter.) We can, however, boycott her manufactured goods, and boycott her Army and Navy."—(Mr. John Sweetman.)

And here is another example of Nationalist appreciation of the British taxpayers' sacrifices:—

"Hearken to the words of Father Kavanagh, the Irish Franciscan Patriot Priest, who pronounces it a heinous crime against Ireland for Irishmen to enter the forces of robber England; and he who engages in one of England's unjust wars is guilty of deadly sin."

The Green Men.

If you travel through Ireland and keep your eyes and ears open you will observe that there is no limit to the violence of language with which Great Britain is assailed by the priests and politicians and pressmen of the Nationalist persuasion. We are accused of every crime conceivable under the canopy of heaven, as individuals and as a nation; we are threatened with every penalty that can be imposed to ruin the prestige of our Empire and the ruin of our trade; every effort is made to substitute the mob rule of the United Irish League for the civilised methods of British government, and to present a picture of Ireland so turbulent and disorderly that she can only be subdued by armed force or by surrender to her clamour.

"Boycott the man who takes the land; boycott him in town; boycott him in market; boycott him in fair; boycott him everywhere you meet him; when he has meadows to sow, in his farming work, when he has a horse to shoe, when he has a car to mend, I say boycott him."—(D. Sheehy, M.P., Aug. 25, 1907.)

Such is the type of advice given all over Ireland to-day by distinguished members of the United Irish League which is coming over to England to enlighten us as to its aims and objects. Why on earth does it not save its few remaining pence, for we know full well both its ambitions and its methods?

"It was the duty of every father and mother in the country to forswear their sons against the cursed service of England, either in the soldiery or police, until Ireland got liberty and independence."—(Mr. Reddy, M.P., Sept. 30, 1905.)

"A revival which will sweep before it all vestiges of English rule in Ireland. They never would have a really prosperous and happy land until that rule is swept clean out of it."—(Mr. John Dillon, Jan. 30, 1905.)

"He (Edward VII.) is a foreign King and no Irishman should present addresses protesting loyalty to him if he were honest."—(Mr. Murphy, M.P., 1904.)

"I hope I may see the day when the Irishman may be able to light his pipe with the last spark from the smouldering ruins of the British Empire."—(Father Bloomer, Lisdoonvarna, Aug. 11, 1905.)

"If I believed there was the smallest chance whatever, I would

have no hesitation in advising my countrymen to endeavour to end the present system by armed revolt.”—(Mr. John Redmond, House of Commons, April 12, 1905.)

The Green Hat.

There is the whole story in a nutshell, and it would seem to be quite unnecessary for the United Irish League to disturb our peaceful shores during the coming winter only to tell us what we already know so well. And if further evidence were necessary, the report of outrages of daily occurrence in Ireland, the severe condemnation of the condition of large parts of that country by His Majesty's Judges, the reign of terror which now exists above the rule of law, should be sufficient to open the blindest eyes. But the Green Hat must go round, for the “patriots” of the League who are members of Parliament must be financed somehow for another twelve months. And so the law-abiding Nonconformists will be bidden to subscribe their pounds and their pence to perpetuate a system of Roman rule which is harder and sadder in Ireland than in any other country where the Papacy is powerful. The peaceful Roman Catholics of England will be approached with the same invitation, to subsidise the organisation which prides itself on being the instigator of all the unrest which is ruining the industries of Ireland to-day. Their subscriptions will go into the same coffers with those of the Socialist Labour party, of whom Cardinal Logue has just declared that “its policy is to banish God from the schools and from the hearts of the people. . . Hence I would enter into no alliance with these people, not even for the lip-service which they give to Home Rule.” Liberals will be asked to make it financially possible for this League to continue its crusade against loyalty to every British institution and to thwart all liberality of public thought or action which does not harmonise with the tenets of the League. Conservatives will be welcomed if they will assist in this great revolutionary endeavour to split up the British Empire.

To this insane end the United Irish League is organising its demonstrations in Great Britain. It will be well if, when thoughtful men and women are listening to the oratory “carefully selected for export” at Mr. Redmond's and other meetings, they do not forget the speeches that are being made in Ireland in a very different temper, nor the lawlessness and crime that follow on those speeches; let them also remember, when taxed with ungenerous conduct towards Ireland, that that part of the British Isles has received in less than thirty years no less a sum than **£164,500,000** out of the British Exchequer. No Englishman or Scotsman grudges to Ireland one penny of that money, but we may well refuse to subsidise a League which is no longer representative of Nationalist Ireland, a League which the growing body of Sinn Feiners denounces as retrograde and impotent, and whose adherents Mr. Tim Healy, M.P., described (after the North Louth election in 1906) as being “without sufficient intelligence to mark a ballot-paper, or to lead a drake to a hen-house.”

IAN MALCOLM.

LIFE IN IRELAND.

A Diary of Outrages under Radical Rule.

"The condition of Ireland as a whole was very satisfactory."—Prime Minister, House of Commons, May 15.

"It is the duty of the people of Ireland to take the ordinary steps to protect their own property."—Chief Secretary, House of Commons, June 12.

"In our opinion the driving of cattle cannot, of itself, be considered a crime of a very serious nature."—Lord Denman, speaking for the Government, House of Lords, June 4.

September 29—Attymore, Co. Galway.—A serious "cattle drive" off the farm of Wm. Daly of Dunsandle. Some beasts recovered five miles away; many missing. No arrests.

September 30—Mullaghboy, Co. Leitrim.—Service of writs refused by tenants. Postman, under escort, assaulted and robbed.

October 2—Newford House, Athenry.—The property of the Board of Agriculture maliciously destroyed by fire.

October 3—Hill of Down, Co. Meath.—Large herds of cattle driven off several town lands at 6 a.m., gates smashed, locks broken, hay ruined.

October 4—Navan.—Notice of motion at Rural District Council meeting, calling on Meath Hunt to forbid Judge Fitzgerald to hunt during the coming season.

October 6—Shinrone, Co. Tipperary.—The United Irish League circularises all its local branches to forbid the Ormonde Hunt to ride over the county.

October 8—Youghal, Co. Cork.—Sheep and cattle driven from Purcell's farm. Found the next evening miles away in an exhausted condition. No arrests.

October 8—Castlebar, Co. Mayo.—Cattle driven off Windsor farm. No arrests.

October 12—Clonard.—Cattle and sheep driven off farm of F. Copperthwaite. No arrests.

October 13—Ballivor.—Violent speech by Mr. D. Sheehy, M.P.

October 13—Sunnagh, Co. Clare.—Fred. Pierce, caretaker on an evicted farm, fired at and wounded in back and arm, now lying in County Infirmary.

October 14—Fohenagh.—Threatening crowd prevented L. McMannaway from taking his cattle to a fair.

October 17—Newmarket on Fergus.—Farm house fired into ; four revolver shots aimed through window at Farmer Buckley.

October 18—Cloverhill, Co. Roscommon.—Grass lands cleared of stock belonging to Farmer Dowd. No arrests.

October 18—Dunsany.—Herd of cattle driven off a farm.

October 19—Big Lagore, W. Meath.—65 head of cattle driven ; only 29 have been recovered.

October 19—Dunboyne.—Cattle drive.

October 20—Roscrea.—Four cattle driven and mutilated by having their tails cut off.

October 20—W. Meath.—Messrs. O'Neill, Taylor, and Casey told by United Irish League to surrender their grass lands ; penalties threatened in case of disobedience. (See Oct. 22.)

October 21—Cleevers Estate, Roscommon.—A large and threatening crowd prevented a bailiff from effecting service of writs for rent due.

October 21—W. Meath.—100 cattle and 50 sheep, the property of three small farmers, driven off Lord Fingall's land.

October 21—W. Meath.—Three separate cattle drives in the Dunsany district. A large hayrick destroyed by fire.

October 22—W. Meath.—50 cattle, property of Mr. Casey, J.P., driven from grazing lands. (See Oct. 20.)

October 22—Co. Limerick.—Two young men, masked and armed, forced their way into the house of Mr. Pickley and compelled him by threats to surrender his gun.

October 22—Co. Leitrim.—Mr. D. Owen's cattle driven from his grazing farm. Collected and grazed all night under police protection.

October 22—Co. Roscommon.—Cattle drives off four farms eight miles from Roscommon.

October 25—Co. Mayo.—Forty-two men, armed with sticks were arrested by police on the charge of cattle-driving from farms in Milltown Parish.

October 27—W. Meath.—Seventy head of cattle driven many miles from the land of Hon. P. Greville Nugent. Another drive, near Delvin, was frustrated by police.

October 28—W. Meath.—The stock driven off three farms near Gort, the boundary walls levelled and gates broken.

October 29—W. Meath.—All the stock cleared off the land of G. Bruce at Derrykeel.

October 29—Longford.—The Drumlish Technical School boycotted by the pupils because the landlord, Dr. Gray, has been seen speaking to a grazier.

October 30—Ballintubber.—Two cattle drives from the estate of Sir Nicolas O'Connor, during which 140 head of cattle were scattered in all directions.

October 30—Ahascragh.—A sheep drive from the farm of Lord Clonbrock. 27 men arrested.

Malicious Injuries.

In the following table are set out recent successful claims for compensation from public funds for malicious injuries. Nationalist agitators are responsible for this heavy burden imposed on the ratepayers who have to meet these awards. The facts detailed below afforded a useful commentary on the peaceful condition of Ireland which is so much talked about by the Government and its supporters.

MALICIOUS INJURIES.

Date of Award.	District.	Amount.	Particulars.
1907.			
October 4	Limerick ..	£15	Burning eight tons of hay on May 7.
October 4	Limerick ..	£25	Destruction of dwelling houses on May 11.
October 8	Clare ..	£40	Spiking 19 acres of meadow in September.
October 8	Kerry ..	£5	Mutilation of a mare on Sept. 17 or 18.
October 8	Kerry ..	£5	Fire in dwelling house, and damage to furniture and household goods on Sept. 12.
October 8	Kerry ..	£7	Burning to death of three heifers on June 15 or 16.
October 9	South Down	£11	Damage to hay on Sept. 5.
October 11	Donegal ..	£25	Spiking meadows and damage to mowing machine.
October 11	Donegal ..	£12	Damage to fences, and one sheep mutilated and killed.
October 12	Galway ..	£8	Destruction of turf on July 4.
October 12	Galway ..	£10	Damage to mowing machine on Aug. 5.
October 12	Galway ..	£30	Destruction by fire of dwelling house, &c., on June 15.
October 12	Galway ..	£20	Damage to house fired into on June 23.
October 12	Galway ..	£3	Walls knocked down.
October 12	Galway ..	£7	Damage to house fired into on Aug. 28.
October 12	Galway ..	£10	Wall destroyed.
October 12	Galway ..	£13	Damage to furniture by three persons with blackened faces.
October 12	Galway ..	£8	Loss of bullock by maiming.
October 12	Galway ..	£12 10s.	Burning and destruction of house, &c., on June 15.
October 14	Wicklow ..	£23	Damage to machinery, belting, hose pipe, &c., of saw mill on June 2.
October 19	Clare ..	£10 10s.	Mutilation of cow and calf.
October 22	Enniscorthy	£7 15s.	Damage to bicycle and window.
October 25	Cork ..	£24	Spiking meadows.
October 25	Cork ..	£70	Burning rick of hay.
October 25	Clonmel ..	£25	Injury to cattle by driving, one being found in dying condition.
October 31	Trim ..	£20	Damage to hay, gates, &c., in connection with cattle drive.
November 1	Galway ..	£470	Burning of Woodford House, the property of the Agricultural Department.

LAW AND ORDER.

This traditional difficulty of persuading an Englishman to give his serious attention to more than one thing at a time must be sorrowfully admitted : so that, when he is already endeavouring to master three political problems, it would seem almost reckless to beg him to give his earnest consideration to a fourth. At this moment the majority of newspaper readers are striving to find a just judgment on three important matters, namely, the future of the House of Lords, the Socialist movement, and the Fiscal Question ; and it goes without saying that every man who ponders over these things is, in truth, seeking to find the solutions that will bring the greatest good to the Empire. But I venture to remind the citizens of this country that the prosperity of our Empire is based upon something deeper than constitutional forms and import duties. It is based, as is the welfare of every civilised state, upon the respect for law and order that springs from the goodwill in the heart of every true citizen towards his commonwealth ; a respect which is willingly offered by loyal subjects, and which must be exacted from the evil-doers by authority in the name of the State.

Liberty and Property.

It is for this reason that the condition of Ireland at the present time claims the immediate attention of all well-wishers to the British Empire ; for, whilst lawlessness and crime are permitted to wreak havoc at the heart of our body-politic, no change in the social or fiscal conditions of our country can bring lasting benefit to our people. It is not improbable that a superficial familiarity with the perennial discontent that seethes in the breasts of a certain section of Irishmen has bred a spirit of indifference to matters concerning Ireland in the minds of the people of Great Britain. We do not recognise, so long as we are not personally inconvenienced, the paramount necessity of practising at home what we preach abroad, namely, that the birthright of every British subject is liberty to live as he chooses (within the limits of the law), and to do what he will with his own property. These twin privileges which we extend to the people of every Colony and Dependency that flies the British flag, are denied to the law-abiding citizens of Ireland, who, though nominally under the protection of His Majesty, are in reality thralls in subjection to the United Irish League. The Local Self-government which was given to Ireland has been so much abused that, in three out of the four provinces, no one need expect to be chosen as a Councillor unless he be a member of the League ; in certain counties, the humblest offices cannot be filled except by candidates who can show a certificate from the parish priest, who is almost invariably a member of the League ; the League issues orders naming persons who shall surrender their properties under pain of an immediate boycott by their neighbours ; the orators of the League incite the abominable outrages known as "cattle drives," which ruin the farming prospects of the agricultural community. And yet the Government of the day does absolutely nothing ; nay, it does worse than

nothing, for it allows the word to go forth from platform after platform that it secretly rejoices in these evidences of disturbance, and it finds it consonant with its dignity to stand by in silence when it is thus advertised as an associate in crime.

Malicious Injury.

Who can watch these things unmoved? Scarcely a day passes but reports reach England that some poor man's cattle have been driven off his land; that another has abandoned his few fields in sheer terror of the League; that a third has had his house fired into; that a postman has been assaulted and his mail-bags have been taken from him. During the past month I observe that no less than thirty-six claims for "malicious injury" have been awarded in these disturbed districts; burning hay-ricks, spiking meadows, destruction of machinery, firing into houses, and six cases of cattle maiming—these are the offences for which several hundred pounds will have to be found in compensation. It is painful to have to chronicle such a state of things, and to reflect that the people of Great Britain could, if they chose, arouse against a Government which permits it a feeling of indignation at least as intense as that which excites them when they hear of crime, and cruelty, and terrorism in foreign countries. Most of all should we condemn the Chief Secretary, who, when flagrant instances of disorder are brought to his notice in the House of Commons, calls his informants "carrion crows." Yet each of these gentlemen is a representative of the people as fully as is Mr. Birrell himself; they are members of Parliament from England, and Scotland, and Ireland who would be disgraced in the eyes of their constituents if they knew what was going on and condoned it by their silence, but they are branded by Mr. Birrell and his Nationalist followers as men who make it their chief delight to defame the reputation of Ireland. It is inferred, and often it is explicitly stated, that there is not a vestige of truth in the cases which they bring to the notice of the Government.

A Striking Record.

But the pages of Hansard come speedily to their rescue, and we find that they are amply justified in the course which they have taken. I have searched the official record of questions asked during last Session, confining myself entirely to cases of outrage in its various forms and consequences; and with the following results:—

In March Mr. Birrell answered 36 questions, which asked if certain allegations of outrage were true. He admitted the truth of 32, denied 2, and said that he had no "official information" about the remaining 2.

In April there were 26 questions of the same kind; he admitted 24 were true, and partially admitted the remainder.

In May there were 35 such questions; he admitted the accuracy of 33, and denied it in the case of 2.

In June there were 73 questions; 67 admitted and 6 denied.

In July 32 questions were asked; in 29 the facts were as stated in the questions; 3 were denied.

In August 10 questions were asked, and in every case the facts were admitted to be accurate.

The foregoing table completely disposes of the allegation that Unionist members of Parliament banded themselves together to "malign their fellow-countrymen" by repeating trumped-up charges that were baseless. Alas, the defamation of the Irish character is solely due to those who incite to outrage and disturbance, knowing full well that others will suffer for their obedience to the behests of agitators. Of this I am convinced: that no men in Parliament will be more grateful to be relieved of the thankless duty of catechising Mr. Birrell daily upon the state of Ireland than will the Unionist members; but I am also certain that they will continue to perform that duty so long as the present desperate situation exists.

IAN MALCOLM.

INCITEMENT TO OUTRAGE.

MR. GINNELL AND THE GOVERNMENT.

The following letter appeared in "The Times" of October 15 :—

To the Editor of "THE TIMES."

Sir,—The leader of the Nationalist party in Ireland has made several speeches during the past two months which proclaim the fact that the United Irish League intends to prosecute a vigorous campaign in England and Scotland in the course of the coming winter. A number of Nationalist M.P.'s are already advertised to speak in important centres, with the direct purpose of dispelling British indifference to, and ignorance concerning, Nationalist aspirations.

One may take leave to doubt whether the people of England and Scotland are quite so unconscious of the Nationalist demands as Mr. Redmond supposes them to be. After all, they read their newspapers, whose columns are not utterly destitute of information concerning Irish affairs; they have friends amongst the farmers of Ireland who do not fail to acquaint them with the appalling conditions under which a loyal subject of the King has to try and live in Galway and Roscommon and elsewhere; they have memories and can recollect the shrieks of Nationalist triumph when Britons were killed in battle by the King's enemies; they have a sense of business and can realise what sacrifices they have been called upon as taxpayers to make in order that Irishmen in Ireland shall have preferential treatment in the matter of land purchase. Still, it can do no harm to offer yet further facts for the consideration of that section of the British public which Mr. Redmond hopes to persuade to join his ranks; and, whilst the United Irish League confines itself to preaching the principles of Home Rule and Separation, a Unionist may content himself with narrating the methods adopted in Ireland to bring about changes in the land-tenure system, and thus assist in presenting a complete picture of the situation.

It will be remembered that, during the past Session of Parliament, questions innumerable were put to the Chief Secretary concerning grave assaults with knives and firearms, boycotting, cattle-driving, attacks upon his Majesty's mails, threatening notices, and other symptoms of widespread and dangerous disturbance. It will be remembered also that Mr. Birrell, whilst admitting all these evidences of open turbulence, continued to assert that Ireland was in a most peaceful and satisfactory condition. Yet, the moment that the doors of Parliamentary criticism were closed and the representatives of the people had dispersed for their holidays, a proclamation was issued (on August 27) declaring six Irish counties to be in a state of disturbance, which necessitated a large reinforcement of constabulary into each of these counties.

I am not concerned to dispute the wisdom or the courage of the Chief Secretary in so acting; no doubt he schemed for the best, but by this time he must have realised that the Act of William IV. which he invoked has been largely inoperative, since, during the past month,

the cattle-drives and the speeches inciting thereto have been as frequent and more violent than ever, in spite of the extra police stationed in the disturbed areas. Had he used the "Crimes Act," his title of "King's Counsel" would have been more amply justified.

In this letter I will confine myself to the activities of one individual in Ireland whose trade it is to incite the people to drive the cattle off every grazier's land, and thus to make a farmer's life impossible; to compel him to surrender his holding, which shall then be divided up amongst all who care to have a piece of it. Mr. Ginnell, M.P., is said to be the author of this illegal method; he is certainly its most tireless exponent. And he boasts that he is the chosen evangelist of the party and of the standing committee of the League, sent to encourage the people and to assure them that, whatever temporary troubles might come upon them, they would have the whole war chest of the League at their back.

I now proceed to quote from Mr. Ginnell's holiday speeches, to illustrate the methods which Home Rulers adopt towards their neighbours in Ireland:—

August 11, at Strokestown.—"Let it be the pride of many branches of the League in Roscommon that before many months had passed there would not be a sod of untenanted land or grazing land let under the 11 months system." . . He said to the people of Strokestown that the cattle ought to be driven off the ranches.

August 14.—Mr. Ginnell paid a visit to the Navan Board of Guardians at their weekly meeting and took the opportunity of making, before this non-political assembly, a violent tirade against graziers:—"I believe (he said) this anti-ranching movement is going to spread and, whether the people who hold out in Meath like it or not, it is going to sweep over Meath, and the sooner they get out the less they will suffer. . . We will create such a situation in Meath that these graziers will have to change their profession."

N.B.—Up to this moment the condition of county Meath had been peaceful and entirely prosperous. The agitation has, so farmers in Meath inform me, done its best to destroy the prosperity of the farming industry in the county.

August 15, at Girley (county Meath).—Mr. Ginnell advised his audience to copy the example of the west of Ireland. "The people of the west had stripped ranches last spring, and they used no more dangerous weapon than a drum. Every branch of the League drummed the cattle off the ranches, mostly in broad daylight, drummed them over the policemen; not a man or beast was injured (!); and the western ranches are to-day clear of cattle."

I suppose the League will tell the people of England and Scotland that they are expected to support these methods, not only in Ireland, but also upon this side of St. George's Channel, when we become sufficiently foolish to threaten thriving industries upon which both town and country districts live.

August 25, at Kilullagh.—"The present Government was a mixed one, but there were a few good men in it to whom nothing would be more agreeable than that the death-blow be dealt once and for all to landlordism and ranching. These men were waiting for them to deal this death-blow, and then they would 'with a heart and a half' get Parliament to ratify it. He knew that for an absolute fact."

This "fact" was declared six weeks ago, and has not yet been contradicted; it would be interesting to know which "good men" beside Dr. Macnamara, M.P., a member of the United Irish League, range themselves against the Judges of the land in their condemnation of the League's methods.

August 27.—At Dunshaughlin, towards the close of the business of the Rural District Council meeting a member said "there was a visitor downstairs who wanted to come before them." This was none other than Mr. Ginnell, M.P., B.L., so the chairman and seven other councillors made an excuse to disappear, feeling no doubt that the occasion was an inconvenient one. However, Mr. Ginnell made his usual speech to those who remained, and announced that "there will be a Land Bill for compulsory distribution of untenanted lands brought in by the Government next year. It will not come east of the Shannon if there is no ranch derelict. The men of the west are awake; they leave the ranches derelict on the owners' hands. . . We know for a fact of at least one member of the Cabinet who says that Irishmen who do not strike a death-blow at landlordism and ranching are not worth their salt, and that the value of the Bill of next year will depend upon the action of Irishmen themselves in Ireland."

So, in effect, Mr. Ginnell implicates his Majesty's Government in this agitation to create disturbance in Ireland. The Bill is to benefit every county wherein the law is set at defiance. Since this wicked suggestion was made cattle-driving has become rife in county Meath, and many poor graziers have surrendered their farms through sheer terror of the League.

September 1.—At Kill, outside the chapel gates after Mass, Mr. Ginnell referred to the great meeting which was to be held on December 8, and said that "there was ample time before then to clear all the ranches, so that they could say on December 8 that there was not a single ranch occupied by ranchers' cattle. . . Let no man show his face in Navan on that day unless every ranch in their parish was cleared of every beast."

September 7.—At Kells Rural District Council Mr. Ginnell delivered yet another anti-grazing harangue, observing that he "would use no expression and submit no proposition, but such as the entire Council would be able to concur in." Nevertheless, he managed to make his usual speech against the existing land laws, to indicate the success of the Athenry people who took the matter into their own hands, and to declare that "the condition of the greater part of Ireland was disgraceful, but the condition of the county Meath was tragic."

One cannot be surprised that confidence in Irish local self-government is waning when local administrative bodies provide official pulpits for peripatetic agitators.

September 14.—At Trim Rural District Council meeting a member introduced Mr. Ginnell, "who," he said, "wishes to address you." Lord Langford made a spirited protest against such an abuse, saying that "these boards in Meath are no places for political discussions." The usual speech was, nevertheless, delivered, and contained the usual assertion that "if cattle-scattering be continued the grazing system is doomed." The speaker further advised the council that "when the people are voluntarily supplying the 'driving power' you (the council) ought to claim and exercise a voice in this great movement."

I ought to add that at this, as at previous meetings of similar councils, Mr. Ginnell produced a resolution out of his pocket (which he had thoughtfully drafted in advance) containing a memorial to the Estates Commissioners, and this was duly signed by the obedient council. Needless to say the resolution contained a full expression of approval of Mr. Ginnell's policy.

September 15.—At Jordanstown Mr. Ginnell addressed a large meeting after Mass. He said that "whoever withdrew or withheld the land of Ireland from human use (?) was a public enemy. He sentenced them to exile or the British Army—the one deplorable and the other disgraceful."

At the close of his speech he indicated that those in authority were inclined to change their policy and to remove him from Meath, and that he would have to bow to their superior wisdom. Whether this means that the National Directory has discovered that lawlessness and agitation do not pay in Meath I have no means of knowing, but the decision caused a good deal of sensation at the time.

Now it may be said that I have called a great deal too much attention to the utterances of one man on this cattle-driving business, but I have done so because this man is the spokesman of the United Irish League which is coming over to enlighten Great Britain on Irish affairs. He speaks for their policy, which has spread ruin over many parts of the country, which has caused whole districts to be rated for extra police to cope with consequent crime, and has involved the arrest of many and the imprisonment of a few ignorant peasants, but not of one M.P. It is this policy, no doubt, which Mr. Redmond and his friends will preach from whatever platforms they may address audiences in England and Scotland. Surely they will also refer to the far-flung pamphlets advocating open hostility to the British Crown, the Army and Navy, and to the British people generally. And, possibly, before the collection is taken, they will inform the British taxpayers that no less than £165,000,000 has been guaranteed to Ireland during the past 25 years on the faith of the Imperial Exchequer. It is important that British audiences should get first-hand information on all these points.

Or it may be imagined that only Mr. Ginnell has gone about preaching the gospel of the cattle-drive. But that is not so; a score or two of lesser statesmen have been similarly employed during the recess, and each can claim his share in driving capital out of Ireland.

It will be most interesting to note how the agitation thrives in England amongst Nonconformists (who desire no Roman Catholic University nor denominational education) and amongst the industrial law-abiding classes who have learned from their cradles that good business consists in fostering and not ruining confidence and credit.

Your obedient servant,

IAN MALCOLM.

THE SORROWS OF IRELAND.*

A REVIEW.

"It appears that I am to be murdered for writing my books, which is stupid, because the time to murder me was before I wrote them. I want it to be known that if I be found dead it will not be suicide, and that if I must die it will be at my post."—"Pat," in *The Saturday Review*, October 19, 1907.

Less than a year ago the British public—and the Press, and even Parliament—rivetted its attention for a short time upon a small shilling volume called "Economics for Irishmen." It came in for high praise and for hard criticism, which is another way of saying that it was a book well worth reading. That the praise should have been high was in no sense surprising, for, to put it at its lowest, the author displayed no small amount of real argument and originality and courage; that the adverse criticism should have been hard was no more astonishing, since "Pat" lost no opportunity of making the roughest places (of Irish existence) plain to the meanest intelligence. He explained, with a genteel firmness which left nothing to be desired, how sadly his compatriots lacked the necessary character to stay at home and prosper; their alternative was to go abroad and rule, or to remain in Ireland and agitate. He took the British Government to task for permitting the education of the youth of Ireland to remain in the uncontrolled hands of an unintellectual priesthood, and he challenged the whole Roman Catholic hierarchy to prove their title to interfere in the political affairs of the people over whom they were set. Then, constructively, he argued, and I think he proved conclusively, that if the Irish people were educated like most ordinary human beings and allowed, in after life, to manage their own affairs in their own way instead of in the way prescribed by a priest or a League, they would probably make a good thing out of living in Ireland. He also argued that it was bad business to be at everlasting loggerheads with your nearest neighbour, especially when that neighbour's little finger was a thousand times thicker than your own loins.

Well, "Pat" was denounced and his book was boycotted, but somehow or another the honest man came by his own and, whilst the "Economics for Irishmen" ran into many editions, the author became both infamous and famous! Such results, morally and materially instructive, combined to induce him to write another book, "The Sorrows of Ireland," which is now under review.

Far from displaying the least repentance for all his allegations against the priests and politicians of his native land, "Pat" proceeds to repeat them, in fresh and incisive form; he reminds us of the immortal White Knight who declared that "Whatever I say three times is true." But, whereas he wrote his "Economics" from a journalistic standpoint, covering much ground in large strides, he now dilates on the "sorrows" of his native land as a peasant proprietor under the Act of 1903, and his arguments are none the less forcible because they are confined to his own personal experiences in his own parish.

* "The Sorrows of Ireland," by "Pat." (West Strand Publishing Co., London, and Maunsel & Co., Dublin. 1s.)

English writers are oftentimes abused for calumniating Ireland when they dwell on the tyranny of the United Irish League. Let them take heart of grace ! Why, "Pat" in County Mayo cannot get a small overdraft of £200 from the local bank, upon the security of a farm worth £1,000, because the banker declared that the value of the farm could not be realised, "since it rests with the United Irish League to say whether a farm can be sold or not" ! No wonder the author retired from this interview marvelling greatly at "a national organisation that 'saved the people' by destroying the industry upon which they depended." Moreover, a boycott was proclaimed against "Pat," and it still exists ; every injunction to make his life unbearable was given by his parish priest to the faithful flock ; "though the Catechism condemns theft," he complains, "yet my letters were regularly opened in the post, and the mighty British Empire on which the sun never sets was quite incapable to keep its penny contract with me." So that, what with priests and Leagues that demand and secure the minds and wills of the peasantry, he arrives at this logical conclusion : that "a people that is trained from the cradle to give up its mind as a moral duty cannot well have its mind in the business of life—unless in some other country where the emigrant is free to use his mind in order to live. No one (says 'Pat,' a devout Catholic) can find anything to justify this in the Catholic religion, but no one can help finding it in the administration of that religion in Ireland."

And, here, a word in apparent digression : I turn for a moment from "Pat's" book to some evidence, under the name of Mr. P. D. Kenny, before the Dudley Commission now sitting. It appears that at Castlebar, a few weeks ago, Mr. Kenny gave evidence that certain priests were determined to prevent the land question being settled by the Congested Districts Board, the Dudley, or any other, Commission. He was roughly taken to task for such a statement, and was generally disbelieved, since he did not feel at liberty to disclose the authorities upon whom he relied. However, he was re-examined a few days later, and handed in a statement which was volunteered to him by the Petty Sessions Clerk at Kiltimagh. It runs as follows : "When I was preparing this estate for sale, the parish priest, Father Commons, stated to me that he was opposed to the Congested Districts Board having anything to do with the purchase of the Estate, and that he would not consent to the migration of any of his parishioners." Thus it will be observed that the lives even of the oldest inhabitants are completely under clerical control, whilst it is well known that the education of the children is entirely regulated by the priesthood. In this latter connection "Pat" quotes Bishop O'Dwyer of Limerick : "Almost all secular education is in the hands of the clergy. . . The clergy that teach have never received a true education. . . They come out of Maynooth. . . absolutely deficient in all classical education and in all scientific and mathematical education. They are deficient in . . . a something which cultivates a sense of honour and of right judgment with regard to the affairs of life."

Later chapters deal with the tyranny of the United Irish League, and this goes far to explain why so many Irishmen get out of their own country and leave their fields free for the grazier and his bullocks. "The bullocks are not forced to join the League, and they are not 'organised' to horn each other out of the country or to kill the best representatives of their race ; they have no 'religion,' no 'leaders,' no Parliamentary fund. When organised tyranny takes the place of individual freedom,

terror becomes a virtue and cowardice takes the place of character ; down goes the nation and up goes the bullock."

Lastly, "Pat" deals with the futility of trying to organise a real rebellion out of men who are not allowed to think for themselves. "The Catholic rebel can never be more than a humbug, the Protestant rebel means business"; and he proceeds to argue the insanity of a portion of Ireland trying to coerce the British Empire by threatening a tin-pot revolution. "If we must have a rebellion," he writes, "why not fight, get it over, and settle down to something sane and definite as the Boers are doing?" As for the Parliamentary party, which swears allegiance to the King and also to make the Government of Ireland impossible, "Pat" has this to say: "The oath makes the rebel also a traitor, and no one can respect a traitor of any sort. . . The rebel who swears allegiance to the King is a traitor either to Ireland or to the King—if not to both."

I find myself in full agreement with "Pat" upon many points. Yet he is a Home Ruler and I am a Unionist. He has brought me to see that the patriot who can emancipate his nation from the tyranny of priests and Leagues, who can set up a liberal education for the children of his country, who can ensure to every man and woman the right of individual freedom based upon respect for the law—that such a man can urge a plea for Home Rule in Ireland founded upon lines that are intelligible. But he has also shown me the enormous difficulties which beset such a sane patriot at the present time, and compels me to believe that in his opinion Home Rule would at this moment be an unqualified curse to Ireland. "The Sorrows of Ireland," then, is a plain survey of facts of Irish life as they exist, told by a sane Nationalist to all whom it may concern. As such it should be widely read, remembering that the man who writes it gains nothing by so doing but the boycott by his neighbours, at the instigation of his own parish priest, and the threat of assassination.

X. Y. Z.

P.S.—Since writing the above an astonishing article has appeared in *The Saturday Review* of October 19, entitled "Some Reasons why I ought not to be Murdered," by "Pat."

IRISH DIARY.

1907.

October 9.—Mr. Birrell, M.P., at Blackrock on the University Question.

October 10.—Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., at Cork.

October 12.—Letter published from Mr. John Redmond, M.P., on Glennaheiry Bomb Case.

October 13.—Mr. John Redmond, M.P., at Maryborough. Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., at Mallow. Nationalist demonstration at Dungannon; letter from Mr. Dillon, M.P.

October 14.—Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., at Manchester.

October 15.—Letter published from Mr. Birrell, M.P., on the Glennaheiry Bomb Explosion. "Times."—Letter from Mr. Ian Malcolm on the state of Ireland. (See page 297.)

October 16.—Lord Londonderry on Irish affairs, at Hartlepool. Letter published from Lord Ashtown on Glennaheiry Bomb Case.

October 17.—Annual Meeting in Dublin of the Irish County Councils' General Council. Sir T. Esmonde, Bart., defeated for Chairmanship.

October 18.—Mr. W. Long, M.P., in Stirlingshire on the condition of Ireland.

Sinn Fein meeting in London. (See page 276.)

October 21.—Mr. John Redmond, M.P., at Wexford.

October 22.—Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., at Dublin, on formation of Liberal Association.

October 23.—Mr. John Redmond, M.P., at Dublin, on formation of Central Branch of United Irish League.

October 27.—Mr. John Redmond, M.P., at Drumkeerin.

October 28.—Mr. John Redmond, M.P., at Sligo.

October 29.—Mr. Walter Long, M.P., at Wolverhampton.

IRISH FACTS.

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[DECEMBER, 1907.]

CURRENT NOTES.

Speeches on Ireland.

The Unionist party has good reason to be glad that at last the deplorable condition of Ireland is being brought prominently before the electors of Great Britain by the leaders of the two historic political parties. During the month of November speeches were made, and letters were written in high places, which leave no doubt as to the grave situation that has developed in the sister-isle since the present Government came into office, speeches and letters which clearly indicate how widely different are the Radical and Unionist methods of treatment for crime and disorder. It is true that the Prime Minister has been ominously silent on the question of Ireland, and that Mr. Asquith has pursued the even tenour of his oratorical way with sublime indifference to the illegal conspiracy that is rampant across St. George's Channel: for them Mr. Birrell must be assumed to act as spokesman, and we are entitled to believe that at Southampton he spoke on Irish affairs as the mouth-piece of a united Cabinet. Let us recall a few of his utterances, lest his mind should change, or his words be forgotten, before the meeting of Parliament:—

Mr. Birrell, M.P.

“The eyes of the people of the West of Ireland are largely turned not merely upon the tenanted land, but upon the vast tracts of land untenanted by them, on which bullocks are now feeding; and that has given rise to the difficulty—which has assumed great proportions, which I deplore and deprecate—of what is called ‘cattle-driving’ in Roscommon and Galway. To make their wishes known they have adopted an illegal, a reprehensible, and a dishonest method, and a method which, unless it is checked, must bring great disaster upon Ireland, because it will inevitably tend to prevent the working out of the Land Purchase system of 1903, and prevent the fresh issue of Land Stock, because it was a bargain between Ireland and England that if this vast credit was given and the bonus of ten millions was provided the land war should close. Reform is necessary; amendment of the law is necessary. I am here ready to propose those reforms and amendments, and do all that in me lies to persuade both Houses of Parliament to give effect to these pledges and promises. I will do all I can in that matter, but I must say that so long as this system of cattle-driving continues all my schemes and plans and purposes are endangered, and I doubt very much whether I shall be able to give effect to them. Cattle-driving is undoubtedly an

illegal conspiracy, and I am not here to draw distinctions between one kind of offence and another. I have been accused, and the Government has been accused, most basely of condoning and making light of these offences. I deny that I have ever done so. I have spoken of it in the House of Commons as a process of intimidation, and I speak of it here as a reprehensible practice and one which all good men and Governments must endeavour to suppress. **We have done all, and are doing all**, a Government can do within the powers of the law to put this thing down. We are doing all we can to put it down. We have proceeded against 400. We have bound over to keep the peace 159 persons; we have later proceedings at Petty Sessions and at Assizes against persons whom we have actually caught, but it is not easy to catch them.

Blames the Magistrates.

"I am sorry to say we do not receive the support I think we are entitled to receive from the ordinary magistrates of the country. There are magistrates attached to all these Petty Sessions. Why do they not come when cattle-driving cases are before the Court? The Stipendiary Magistrate does his duty, but two or three *ex-officio* magistrates, I am sorry to say, refuse to convict people of offences clearly brought against them. They come in sufficient numbers to overrule the Stipendiary Magistrate. But there are plenty of other magistrates attached to Petty Sessions who might come if they chose, but who for the most part stop away and say they do not want to get 'across' the people and be boycotted."

It will be noted that in this speech Mr. Birrell refers in mild language to the intolerable crime of cattle-driving, which he terms a "difficulty" at the outset of his remarks, and subsequently calls it an "illegal conspiracy." Now, the people of Great Britain pay very large sums annually out of the taxes to judges and others to suppress crimes and nuisances of this very kind; but Mr. Birrell lays the whole blame for their continuance on the local magistrates and graziers, from whom (he complains) he does not get enough assistance. It will be observed also that he has **not a word to say about the boycotting or malicious injuries or shooting outrages** which are rampant throughout the West of Ireland; no, he has just screwed up enough courage to admit the existence of cattle-driving, and, for the rest, "the minority must suffer, for it is the badge of their tribe."

Mr. Butcher, M.P.

Fortunately, the National Union Conference at Birmingham took place two days after this remarkable speech, and Mr. S. H. Butcher, M.P., the eloquent member for Cambridge University, seized the earliest opportunity of dealing with it before a large and sympathetic audience. Having explained that the farmers, whose trade was being ruined by cattle-driving, could not protect themselves against the powers of darkness vested in the United Irish League, he went on to ask:—

"What was Mr. Birrell's defence? He said they had prosecuted or proceeded against 400 persons, but who were those persons? They were the dupes, the subordinates, the nobodies; while the ringleaders, the principals, the **instigators of crime got off scot free**; and when the Irish Attorney-General was asked a few weeks ago

by the Chief Justice why he did not proceed against the instigators of crime, he said it was a **political issue**. That meant, then, that the men who incited to crime were politicians friendly to the Government; that the crimes of politicians were political, and, therefore, the criminals must not be punished. They had proceeded against 400 persons, but how many of these were convicted? He could give the number, but it was a small number, and Mr. Birrell threw the blame on the magistrates. But who was to blame for this? They made a bunch of Nationalist magistrates, and admitted that these Nationalists would not convict their associates. Mr. Birrell had the Crimes Act at hand, but sooner than put it in force he was content to acquiesce in what Mr. Gladstone in 1881 described as 'the humiliation of good men, the supremacy of the bad.' "

Mr. Balfour, M.P.

On the following day, the Rt. Hon. Arthur Balfour, M.P., made reference to the Chief Secretary's speech, and dealt faithfully with it; arguing by inference that what he (Mr. Balfour) had been able to do in 1887 by applying the Crimes Act could be done equally well in 1907 if Mr. Birrell would employ the same instrument. Said the ex-Prime Minister, referring to the criminality of cattle-driving:—

"Mr. Birrell has in England recently expressed his disapproval of these proceedings, and I am quite sure that that disapproval is an honest disapproval. What I am not quite sure of is whether the Chief Secretary for Ireland is showing the capacities of a practical statesman in trying to deal with the evil which in England he has condemned. He has prosecuted a large number of persons—so he tells us—and he has prosecuted them in vain. Two questions arise upon that. Has he prosecuted the right people? And has he used in the endeavour to punish the guilty all the legitimate weapons which were at his disposal? The answer to both these questions is, and can only be, in the negative. In cases like those of which I am speaking the men punished should be not so much the followers—though they should be punished—but not so much the followers as the ringleaders; not so much the man who does the wrong as the man who causes the wrong to be done; not so much the insignificant tool, but the powerful organisation and the leader who puts the force of that organisation in operation; and I think you will find that, while the police have been vainly hunting the insignificant individual who actually drove the cattle from this or that farm, **the man or men who have been going about from region to region and farm to farm preaching outrage have carried on their propaganda in an honoured safety, untouched by all the powers of the law**; and I think, if you examine under the second count of my indictment, you will find that, while it has always been found impossible to adequately deal with agrarian outrage under what is called the ordinary law, there are powers—powers absolutely consistent with liberty and with British traditions of liberty—there are powers given under the Crimes Act for dealing with just such cases as these which the present Government dare not put into force for fear of offending those on whose votes in Ireland and in England they so largely depend. If that state of facts be true, what is the use of the Chief Secretary for Ireland coming over to this country and deploring cattle-raiding,

and abusing the people who are the victims of cattle-raiding for not defending themselves? By all means let them defend themselves, and certainly let them do all they can; but, after all, in an organised society, it is not merely the individual who has got to help himself against lawlessness; it is the organised society, it is the Government who wield the powers of the law, it is **the Government who are responsible for order**; and if the Chief Secretary for Ireland supposes that he is going to be excused for his dereliction of duty because, in his opinion, somebody else has not done all they could, he will have to answer the question: Why has he not done all he could? Why has he not used all the powers which the law puts at his disposal, and why has he not used such powers as he possesses against the powerful malefactor rather than against his insignificant tool?"

Mr. Long, M.P.

Then follows the Right. Hon. Walter Long, M.P., with a letter to "The Times" on Saturday, Nov. 16. He, too, has been Chief Secretary for Ireland, and his arguments support those of his leader in every particular. He quotes Mr. Birrell's boast that "We have done all and are doing all that a Government can do within the powers of the law to put this thing (cattle-driving only) down," and he replies:—

"This, then, is Mr. Birrell's defence. Is it true that he has done or is doing all that is possible? He tells us that the Government have arrested a certain number of people and are going to proceed against them. Who are these people? They are the unfortunate peasants of the South and West of Ireland who are incited to commit these crimes by men who, compared with themselves, are educated and trained in public affairs; they are men who are led to believe that if they assert themselves they will be in a much more comfortable position than they are now; they are poor fellows who ought not to be made the victims of a **Government afraid to tackle the real offenders** and deal with the difficulty in the only way in which it can successfully be dealt with.

"Mr. Birrell complains that some of the magistrates in the South and West do not attend the Sessions and help him in maintaining the law. Does he know that many of these men, if they did perform their duties, would be boycotted, would have their lives made impossible, and probably be compelled ultimately to leave the country? If he does know this, can he blame them for non-attendance at Sessions? If he does not know it, why has he not acquired the information, which must be easily available to him in his position as Chief Secretary? It is all very well for Mr. Birrell to blame these people for not attending the Sessions; why does he not in the first place do what he professes to be doing—namely, use all the forces of the law in order to punish those who incite to crime. And why is he content to do nothing when **magistrates and juries fail to convict** even in the face of the strongest possible evidence?

"Mr. Birrell goes on to say that cattle-driving is a very difficult crime to put down. Is it so difficult? Let the police understand that they will be backed up by the Government; let the county inspectors be told that they shall have as many police as are necessary to do their work: let them be told that it is their business to maintain the law in order that any man, whatever his position in life, shall

have the protection without which he cannot possibly make his industry pay. If Mr. Birrell will make it clear that he is not afraid of the Nationalists, and that he is prepared to do his duty as a Minister, he can, I venture to say, put an end to cattle-driving in a very few weeks."

Sir E. Carson, M.P.

Lastly we come to the reply made by Sir Edward Carson, K.C., M.P., who acted as Crown Prosecutor in Ireland during Mr. Balfour's administration of the Crimes Act. His letter is worth reproduction, as having been written by one whose knowledge of and experience in dealing with crime in Ireland is unequalled by any other living man. He writes in "The Times" of Nov. 18:—

"I should like to ask Mr. Birrell a few plain questions.

"(i.) If (as he admits in the same speech) certain magistrates in such parts of Ireland refuse to convict 'in perfectly plain cases,' what steps is he taking, or has he taken, to deal with such a scandal?

"(ii.) If (as he admits in the same speech) the stipendiary magistrates are doing and are prepared to do their duty, why does he not supersede the delinquent magistrates and try the cases before the stipendiary?

"(iii.) Is it true, as alleged by the Irish Attorney-General, that the ringleaders who daily incite to such crime and outrage have been left immune from prosecution on grounds of politics or policy?

"On the answer to these questions depends the truth or falsehood of Mr. Birrell's statement quoted above.

"Mr. Birrell says 'he will not be cajoled or bullied.' Well, that is just what we Irish Unionists complain has happened—'cajoled and bullied' by the United Irish League and his Irish Parliamentary supporters—and it is indeed the only defence which can be offered for the position in which he now finds himself.

"I would commend to Mr. Birrell's consideration the following quotation from **Mr. John Morley's** essay on 'Popular Culture':—'It is an old saying that after all the great end and aim of the British Constitution is to get twelve honest men into a box. That is really a very sensible way of putting the theory, that **the first end of government is to give security to life and property** and to make people keep their contracts.'

"If Mr. Birrell has abandoned, as he apparently has, this standpoint in favour of a policy of administration characterised by funk and favouritism, he will very soon find himself a discredited Minister."

Facing both Ways.

Mr. Birrell's remarks at Southampton on "cattle-driving" mark a very great change in the attitude of the Government towards that form of disorder. As recently as Oct. 14 his colleague, Mr. T. W. Russell, spoke of "the **comparatively harmless** process of cattle-driving"; less than a month later the Chief Secretary tells us that it is "an illegal conspiracy"; "reprehensible" and "dishonest," and one that "must be suppressed."

Now that Mr. Birrell has thrown his subordinate over, we shall await with interest Mr. T. W. Russell's next pronouncement; and the new Vice-President will probably assert that the Chief Secretary has only

himself to thank that Ireland is reduced to such a condition that "great disaster" is inevitable to the land purchase policy unless outrage is checked.

All through the last Session of Parliament his attention was constantly called to the prevalence of this disorder; the reward his fellow M.P.'s received was to be contemptuously dubbed "carrion crows," and to be told that their "sole object was to malign and misrepresent their native country."

Other members of the Government adopted this attitude, and either denied, like the Prime Minister, that the condition of Ireland was other than peaceful, or, like Lord Denman and Mr. T. W. Russell, sought to minimise the serious character of this form of outrage.

By their actions also the Government foolishly lent themselves to forwarding the spread of outrage. They allowed the Peace Preservation Act to drop, and promised that the Crimes Act should be "dead and buried" so long as they were in office. Can one wonder that various parts of Ireland are now in a turmoil, and that Mr. Birrell is being slowly compelled to adopt adequate measures to repress disorder? We do not wonder that Mr. Sexton in the "*Freeman's Journal*" (Nov. 13) does not look with favour on the Chief Secretary's latest pronouncements. He says:—

"There was a distinct coercionist flavour about Mr. Birrell's speech at Southampton last evening. The anti-grazier agitation has made him angry, and he threatens to suspend the policy of land reform unless the bullocks are left in peace on the ranches. The "Carrion Crows" and the Lord Chief Justice are within measurable distance of a triumph. When a Chief Secretary begins to parade his returns of convictions and prosecutions instead of detailing his plans of reform . . . when he begins to denounce agitation as an obstacle to reform, he is on the slippery slope that leads to the abyss."

Mr. Birrell in Belfast.

Greatly daring, Mr. Birrell returned to Ireland in the following week, and undertook a pious pilgrimage to the northern province of Ulster. His engagements included several speeches before Home Rule audiences, in the presence of those embarrassing colleagues, the Attorney-General for Ireland and Mr. T. W. Russell, whose recent utterances have not made Mr. Birrell's task easier. We note, however, that the Chief Secretary has a positive genius for saying the right thing in the wrong place. In order to impress upon the Irish people his qualified detestation of cattle-driving, he took ship from Ireland, where he had been silent, and delivered his soul on the subject at Southampton. And now, when he wishes to denounce the "managerial system" of Education in Ireland, he travels from Roman Catholic Dublin, where the real evil lies, and lays his views before the people of Belfast. The Irish newspapers are not slow to notice the changes of venue which Mr. Birrell has to adopt in order to get a decent hearing for his political opinions. At Belfast, on Nov. 22, he unbosomed himself on topics which are quite uncontroversial in the North of Ireland, such as Education, Poor Law Reform, and Industrial questions. It was not until the end of his oration, which was amply peppered with seasonable and unseasonable jests and jibes, that he attacked **the question of law and order** which is so dear to the hearts of the inhabitants of the Northern capital.

Why not Prosecute Ginnell?

"This is the question of the hour," quoth the Chief Secretary; and surely a lamer excuse for letting that Mad Messiah run amok all over Ireland was never offered, even by Mr. Birrell, the "King's Counsel." The fingers of this eminent lawyer "itched" (we are told) to put the arch-agitator into jail; but he refrained, because such action would have delighted Mr. Ginnell. It has come to this then: that, if it should seem good to the United Irish League to turn loose their firebrands to advocate serious boycotting, Mr. Birrell will let the victims suffer because it would please the miscreants to go to prison; if the Secret Societies in Ireland should revert to their old practices of murder by day or moonlight, they will not be broken on the wheel lest their joy should be excessive; if the scum of the populace is hereafter found to be armed and drilling in accordance with the commands of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, they will be tolerated with a complacent smile for fear that sterner recognition of their aims should gladden the hearts of the leaders of that organisation. So, in these days, when crime and sedition are abroad in the land, we must take heart of grace and offer congratulations to the chicken-hearted Executive, which will imprison a few peasants for driving cattle and leave the Ginnells of the community alone; to the Government which will try for murder the poor devil who is chosen by lot to pull the trigger, but will wink at the Society which issues the death warrant; to the Lord Lieutenant and his poor subordinates who may send down the police to disarm a battalion of bandits, but dare not touch the organisation which has enrolled them. This, and this only, is the inference to be drawn from Mr. Birrell's talk about Ginnell and Co.; truly the Government of England has never before sunk so low.

The Guilty go Unpunished.

Mr. Cherry, the Irish Attorney-General, excelled Mr. Birrell, at the Belfast Palace Theatre of Varieties on Nov. 22. His "turn" did not come on until late, but he did not neglect to expound a new theory of responsibility for the maintenance of the law, and proper punishment of its offenders.

His first dictum was:—"Until the people were united in a desire to enforce the law there was no good in prosecution." The ever-interesting "Voice" made the appropriate comment—"You will have to wait a long time." The prospect in Ireland is, therefore, that cattle-driving, outrage, and intimidation are to go on unchecked until the offenders of their own free will place themselves in the dock, when Mr. Cherry, if they are still of the same mind, will graciously consent to prosecute them.

His second dictum was even more amazing. Mr. Cherry's desire is to teach the people that "the criminal law was their friend and not their enemy," and to do that, he intends "to adhere to the ordinary law, even though for the time being they were obliged to allow persons to go unpunished **who deserved to be punished.**"

Our readers will note the admission. The Chief Law Officer of the Crown admits that the offenders deserve to be punished, yet they are to go unpunished, to serve as an object lesson of the friendliness of the "criminal law" towards criminals! Mr. Cherry's idea of carrying out his duties is, on his own confession, to abrogate the criminal law, and give offenders immunity from punishment!

Sir Edward Carson, M.P., replies.

We regret that space forbids us to reproduce verbatim the speeches delivered by the eminent King's Counsel and politicians, and to which we have just referred. Further gems, however, are dealt with in the following letter from Sir Edward Carson, which appeared in "The Times" of Nov. 26:—

Sir,—The speeches made by Mr. Birrell and the Irish Attorney-General at Belfast on Friday last on the administration of the criminal law in Ireland are calculated to fill with dismay every law-abiding citizen. I pass by Mr. Birrell's bitter and indecent attack on the Lord Chief Justice and the gross and grotesque travesty of the facts connected with the Lord Chief Justice's very relevant question to the Attorney-General as to whether ringleaders were being prosecuted as well as dupes. The Chief Secretary in his calmer moments will realise that he can gain nothing but contempt from his cowardly invective. But Mr. Birrell's view of his own duties is worthy of consideration.

Mr. Birrell in his speech laid down "The ordinary law of the land is the law which is enforced totally irrespective of the will of the Executive. It is the law over which I, as an Executive officer, have no control whatever." Assuming the soundness of this declaration, I fail to reconcile it with the apology given in the same speech by Mr. Birrell for not proceeding against the ringleaders and inciters. Mr. Birrell's defence is, "After all, I suppose a man who is Chief Secretary must have some discretion and be allowed occasionally to exercise his own judgment." But the statement of the Attorney-General throws further light upon the interference of the mere "Executive officer." "There," said Mr. Cherry, pointing to Mr. Birrell, "is my dictator. I take dictation from the Prime Minister and the Chief Secretary and from no one else." Sir, was there ever a more lamentable confession of partisan and political administration by responsible Ministers of the Crown?

But a further lesson in Liberal statesmanship is to be found in Mr. Birrell's excuse for not putting the Crimes Act into force even after the failure (according to his own admission) of certain magistrates in parts of Ireland to do their duty. "What," says Mr. Birrell, "was the position of the Liberal party? They opposed that permanent Coercion Act with all their vehemence. We have year after year voted for the repeal of it, and to ask us, except upon a case of overwhelming magnitude, to put it into force is simply ridiculous." Sir, the novel theory that the political party for the time being in power ought not to enforce an Act of Parliament which they opposed, and which they disliked, is of such far-reaching consequences, and strikes so entirely at our whole system of government, that it would be impossible to discuss it further in a letter. Whether the "case of overwhelming magnitude" has arisen I will briefly examine in a moment. I should like to ask Mr. Birrell, Is he aware that the section of the Crimes Act dealing with summary jurisdiction in cases of riot and unlawful assembly needs no Executive action to put it into force, and was purposely made a part of "the ordinary law" according to Mr. Birrell's own definition, and is "totally irrespective of the will of the Executive"? And perhaps he will explain

why, when he complains that certain magistrates will not do their duty, the powers given by that section are allowed to remain in abeyance? But has no case arisen of the character Mr. Birrell refers to for the application of the Crimes Act? He has admitted the powerlessness of what he is pleased to define as the "ordinary law." It has been demonstrated that those who pay taxes are entirely unprotected in their lives and property, and I should like to ask those who desire further information to read the following extract from the charge of Judge Curran as far back as Nov. 1 to the grand jury of the County of Meath:—

"As you are probably aware, cattle-driving is being carried on in almost every part of your county. For some time past individuals from outside, strangers to the county, having no stake nor interest in it, have been preaching publicly and with impunity open defiance of the law, advising their hearers to offend against it, and inciting them so to do, leaving behind them as they passed through your county a trail of lawlessness, turbulence, and class hatred, and with what dire results to its peace. I find that since Aug. 28 last there have been no less than 40 cases of cattle-driving in the county, and they still continue. Bodies of men, secretly at night, and in many cases armed with sticks and staves, breaking locks and gates, have driven out and scattered over the country the cattle of their neighbours with the intention of terrorising them into complying with their demands. One can scarcely credit we are living in a civilised country."

Since the Judge made these remarks similar outrages are of daily occurrence, culminating in the attempted assassination of Mr. and Mrs. White Blake in the presence of a sympathetic crowd!

The Attorney-General has, however, defined when, in his opinion, the criminal law ought to be enforced. "Rightly or wrongly," he says, "they held that until the whole of the people in Ireland are united with them in the desire to enforce the criminal law there was no good in prosecutions"! Is it any wonder that a voice interjected, "You will wait a long time"? Sir, but for the seriousness of the subject-matter, one might feel amused at this farcical comedy; but some of us wonder how long these things will continue under British rule.

Birrellisms and Crime,

We note with some amusement that, on Saturday, Nov. 23, at Belfast, the Chief Secretary "tore passion to tatters" in referring to the observation that, in his lengthy and exhaustive speech on the previous evening, he had made no sympathetic reference to the victims of the Craughwell outrage—i.e., the occasion when Mr. White Blake and his mother were shot as they returned from mid-day Mass. "Is a man of honour expected to repudiate such crimes?" he asked; we can only answer that such expectations used not to be disappointed. "All honest people repudiate them; and if the police had effected any arrests the miscreants would undoubtedly have received justice at the hands of their fellow-men. It only adds to the horror of such crimes to be obliged to refer to them, and I swear that I will never do so again." A brave oath, Sir Toby; but from your place in Parliament you will yet be compelled to allude to

these horrors. Meanwhile Mr. Birrell will do well to ascertain how it was that an escort of police were unable to arrest the men with shot-guns who could not have been a hundred yards away from them when the outrage was committed. He may also reconsider his dictum about the justice-loving qualities of the miscreants' "fellow-men," when he reflects that not a man or woman returning with their fellow-worshippers from the noon-day Sacrament ventured to assist these wounded people, but laughed and jeered at them, and passed by on the other side.

These things duly accomplished, we would ask Mr. Birrell whether he does not think that a Government of Honour, having it in their power to do so, would stop such crimes by breaking up the conspiracies which plan them?

Still a Home Ruler.

It is a significant fact which ought not to be overlooked that, notwithstanding his denunciation of Nationalist disorder in Ireland, Mr. Birrell still clings to "Home Rule" as a plank in the Radical platform of Irish reform. At Southampton he said:—

"I will not be bullied or cajoled by any persons or newspapers in this country or in Ireland into a departure from a course which I believe will result before long in a complete restoration of order in Ireland, and in enabling the Liberal Government to continue in the path of extending to the Irish people educational, religious, and, **I doubt not in time to come, the right of self-government.**" ("Freeman's Journal," Nov. 13.)

The hardihood of a Minister who can talk of "the right of self-government" when the men who would govern are engaged in inciting their country to disorder and outrage need not be commented upon. Unionists must note Mr. Birrell's declaration as a further proof that Home Rule is still a danger to the Empire.

Brave Words.

Mr. Redmond at Birr said:—

"The coming Parliament will not be one week in Session before Home Rule is to the front, before the Home Rule flag is raised."—"Freeman," Nov. 11.

Brave words, Mr. Redmond! After all you must try to justify your existence; but we doubt if your Liberal allies will thank you.

Mr. Birrell's "Swan Song."

Is the end of Mr. Birrell's rule in Ireland in sight? Speaking at the inaugural meeting of the University College Literary Society in Dublin on Nov. 7, the Chief Secretary, referring to the Irish University Bill he proposed to bring in next year, said: "If I fail, why, then, gentlemen, I can promise you this, that you will be troubled with me no more."

Mr. Birrell is to be pitied. But his extraordinary failure as a law-maker; the failure of those before him successfully to solve this question; and, may we add, the publicly announced effect of his non-success, all tend to the belief that the end of Mr. Birrell's Chief-Secretaryship is within sight.

Mr. Birrell's Education Bill, too, tells against him. Irish Roman-

Catholics are naturally suspicious of a Minister who would have severely penalised Catholic education in Ireland. "The Roscommon Herald" (Nov. 9) put the matter neatly when it says:—

"The very thing that he (Mr. Birrell) would ban in England, is what he must recognise and defend in Ireland if he is to carry out the boast that he made on Thursday evening in Dublin."

A Royal (?) University.

The measure of Ireland's loyalty can be taken from the significant action of the Senate of the Royal University. Remembering the riot that occurred during the degree day last year in Dublin, when the organist attempted to play "The National Anthem," the authorities this year silenced the organ! In addition, the services of a strong force of police were utilised as stewards. It surely affords loyal Britons cause for comment that a Royal University dare not allow "God save the King" to be played at its official functions.

Nationalist Views.

Mr. Birrell's promises of reform of many Irish questions during his recent tour in the North does not appear to have been received with wholehearted loyalty by his Nationalist allies.

Mr. T. M. Kettle, Nationalist M.P., speaking at Trim on Nov. 24, was moved to say, in the course of his address, that:—

"Mr. Birrell, who was a very clever man, had made an interesting speech in Belfast a few days ago. His speech consisted mainly of **promissory notes, with no date named at which they were to be presented.** For his part, he would like to see the money on the counter, before slowing down the agitation."—"Freeman," Nov. 27.

"The Midland Reporter" (Nationalist) was even stronger in its reflections on the Chief Secretary and his subordinates, saying:—

"Mr. Birrell in his speeches, so full of paltry attempts at humour, tried to be very severe on Mr. Ginnell, M.P. He said his hands itched to prosecute Mr. Ginnell, and in the Boetian atmosphere of Belfast, there was great laughter at **this silly effort at a witticism.** What an awful piece of fun this was!—worthy of the great and only Birrell. And then he went on to say that he left it to his Attorney-General Cherry to prosecute the men caught actually cattle-driving. **The vacuous, moon-faced Cherry,** who as a political job was pitchforked into the Attorney-Generalship, and was never able to earn £100 a year at the Bar, has been attempting with more or less success to enforce a Coercion policy in the King's Bench with Dublin juries during the week. This is Mr. Birrell's way of governing Ireland. **Of all the political charlatans sent to rule our country, he is the worst.** He declares that he would sweep away the system that makes our priests managers of our National Schools, and at the next moment he says he will do or die, or pass a Catholic University Bill. The two things prove the arrant hypocrisy of the man. He declares in a special piece of insolence that all the Parliamentary pressure of the Irish members is brought to bear on him not to dismiss a drunken warder from a lunatic asylum, and he wants these questions left to Irishmen themselves. Then **he weeps crocodile tears** over his defunct Council Bill, and finally he declares that he will only go

on with Irish legislation when Dillon unites with O'Brien, and Redmond joins hands with Healy. Ah, Mr. Birrell, you are quite too funny! There is only one thing he admits has pinched his corns, and that is **Cattle-driving**. **Clearly the more of that he gets the quicker he will drop sniggering**, and begin doing practical work for the redress of Irish grievances."—Nov. 28, 1907.

A Great Liberal Gathering.

Mr. Birrell's "great Liberal gathering" at the luncheon at Londonderry on Nov. 26 suffers greatly at the hands of the Londonderry "Sentinel." That paper pitilessly exposes the Chief Secretary's rhetoric to the cold, hard test of facts. As a result of its analysis, the "Sentinel" finds that out of the 120 persons for whom covers were laid, about 20 were members of Mr. Birrell's own party, about 20 more were newspaper representatives, some 30 or 40 persons (excluding county solicitors) were assembled from the County of Londonderry. Londonderry City was represented by seven gentlemen, one of Nationalist views, and another a salaried Civil Servant. Of such is Liberalism in Londonderry. As a reward for nurturing the puny plant of Liberalism in Ulster, Mr. T. W. Russell was pitchforked into office as Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture at a salary of £1,350 a year. The recompense seems ample payment for the product. Mr. T. W. Russell is to be congratulated on the generosity of his paymasters—with public money.

Mr. Redmond at Cardiff.

"The leader of the Irish party at home and beyond the seas" has taken up his parable in Wales. Like other courageous statesmen, he finds it simpler to talk about cattle-driving in Great Britain than in the disturbed centres of Ireland. He describes "the attempt made by the London 'Times' and other newspapers to write of Ireland as being in a state of lawlessness and crime" as being "absolute nonsense." He finds the gaols in Great Britain are full, and those in Ireland are empty, and so he concludes that Ireland is "crimeless." But he has probably overlooked another difference between the two countries, which might throw light on the situation, namely, that when crimes are committed in Great Britain the malefactor is sent to gaol; in Ireland the magistrates and juries decline to convict the criminal, who leaves the court a hero. **That is why the Irish gaols are empty.**

Cattle-driving.

Mr. Redmond is in full sympathy with this movement, "which is accompanied neither by crime nor outrage"; it is only "a sign of widespread unrest and impatience, a technical breach of the strict letter of the law in the shape of what is called cattle-driving." He proceeds to inform the men of Wales that: "In no instance, however, has a single beast been injured, nor has there been an instance of malicious injury to property or life, either of man or beast." Let us remind Mr. Redmond (who in Wales declares himself at last to be on the side of Mr. Ginnell) that in the month of October alone there were **27 awards for malicious injuries** connected with the present agrarian disturbance, amounting to several hundreds of pounds, which the ratepayers must find. All of these were outrages upon property or cattle; whilst the shooting cases,

including the wounding of Pierce, the herd, and the attempted assassination of Mr. White-Blake and his aged mother on their return from Mass, ought not to have been forgotten by Mr. Redmond quite so soon.

From the "Midland Reporter" (Nov. 21), a Nationalist paper, we take the following:—

"What is regarded as a very important development in connection with the Anti-Ranching Movement in North Westmeath is the fact of the G.A.A. coming to its support by holding an important tournament in Delvin on Sunday evening in aid of the funds for the support of the seven young prisoners in Kilmainham in connection with the famous cattle-drive at Killulagh.

"Hitherto this very important body kept aloof from political matters, although probably their sympathies were popular with the movement. In addition, frequent complaints have been made as to the apathy of the younger generation of Irishmen, as few of them evidently cared to become members of the United Irish League. Consequently, the action of the G.A.A., which is very patriotic and creditable to that body, has caused widespread comment and interest. There was no agitation in recent times that has so soon gained the enthusiastic support of the people, young and old, or which promises to have better or more far-reaching results.

"Their action is all the more significant inasmuch as it was taken voluntarily and quite spontaneously. The Riverstown team, that fine body of athletes, who possess the County Championship, undertook to travel at their own expense to Delvin to meet a team from Meath, the proceeds to go in aid of the Killulagh Prisoners' Defence Fund. The Meath men acted, too, in a very patriotic manner, and both teams are very sincerely and cordially thanked by the people, and especially by the brave lads in jail, who were delighted to learn that the G.A.A. had decided to come to their assistance in a prominent and generous manner. It is considered that this new development will give the Anti-Ranching Movement a further impetus, and has shortened the existence of this cursed system."

Condemned by the Church.

The priests in Ireland are by no means unanimous in their approval of ruining the cattle industry by outrage and intimidation.

In Tuam Cathedral on Sunday, Nov. 24, we learn from the "Freeman's Journal" (Nov. 26) that the Archbishop of Tuam "spoke in strong terms of denunciation of the system of cattle-driving, which, at the instance of some ill-advised persons, had, he was sorry to say, been reported in some portions of his Archdiocese. His Grace pointed out that cattle-driving was not only **an unjust and immoral practice**, but that it was the most lamentable folly at the present time, when a sympathetic Chief Secretary had declared himself ready to do all in his power, not only to procure for the people a satisfactory settlement of the University Question, but also, by providing more money, to hasten the splitting up of the non-residential grass farms, which is the chief aim and anxiety of the cattle-drivers. But these men are at pains to tie his hands and strengthen the hands of his opponents, and, his Grace regretted to say, with a certain amount of success."

The Rev. P. Kelly, C.C., President of the Castlepollard and Finea

branches of the United Irish League, has written in scathing terms of the League cattle-driving policy. He says :—

“ I have consistently and persistently condemned it, both in public and private, as a policy that is certain to pauperise the rate-payers and the country, and to block the very object it ostensibly aims at accomplishing. . . Of one thing I am absolutely convinced—that this vital question will never be solved by bands of youths breaking down gates and fences, and brandishing camans and blackthorns to the tune of ‘ God Save Ireland ’ on a half-dozen fifes, accompanied by the unmerciful sledge-hammering of a big drum.”—(“ Daily Express,” Nov. 23.)

So also the Rev. Michael Dillon, C.C., the President of the Kinnegad U.I.L., after Mass on Nov. 24, condemned cattle-driving.

“ It was,” he said, “ a violation of the Eighth Commandment that anyone should do injustice to his neighbour or injure his property, and those who were guilty of such injustice, or who injured their neighbours’ property, were bound to make restitution if they hoped for salvation. For instance, if by their action people were the means of getting the ratepayers taxed in a district, they were morally bound—unless they had acted in ignorance—to make restitution.

“ The Plan of Campaign and boycotting had been condemned by the late Pope, and **no one calling himself a Catholic would be worthy of the name** who would not abide by the decision of the supreme head of the Church on earth. The child going to school could tell them how unjust it was to injure their neighbours’ property, and that to do so was a breach of the moral law. . . Meantime it was not right that anyone should injure his neighbour, and no amount of **fireside politics or public-house patriotism** could justify it or remove the moral obligation of restitution from those who did so.

“ Things were beginning to wear a most serious aspect at present, and this cry against ranching was opening the door to **unscrupulous people to commit injustice**. It was leading, and had already led, to boycotting and outrage, and they could remember quite recently how, in the County Galway, two people coming from Mass had been fired at. Referring further to cattle-driving, Father Dillon said this was **encouraged only by unscrupulous, unprincipled politicians**, who cared nothing for the good name of the country, and who seemed to be chiefly anxious that there should be turmoil in order to blow their own horn and keep their name before the public. Cattle-driving was for the most part the work of **heedless, brainless people**, and perhaps it could be often traced to the public-house or the fireside politics.”

On Tour.

Mr. Redmond’s lecture on Nov. 29 to the “ Young Scots ” Society at Glasgow was a kind of semi-historical comparison between the state of Canada before that Colony received self-government, and the state of Ireland to-day. His argument was, in brief, that autonomous powers were wrenched by the Colonies from the Motherland anxious to avoid scenes of bloodshed and rebellion ; that since receiving these responsibilities each Colony had become devoted to Great Britain ; that the Empire would never be strong until Ireland also got Home Rule ; and

that, therefore, those who loved the Empire should be Home Rulers first. Most ingenious, rather inaccurate, and very far-fetched. Mr. Redmond knows, as did his audience, that the case of Scotland, and not Canada or Australia, is the true analogy to Ireland. Yet the union with Scotland took place 200 years ago, and there is no responsible man or woman alive to-day who regrets it on either side of the Tweed. There is certainly nobody in Scotland who would make use of language like that of Mr. Redmond at New Ross on June 23, 1907 :

"We, to-day, from this county of Wexford, send therefore this message to England. We tell her that we, Wexfordmen, to-day, hate her rule just as bitterly as our forefathers did when they shed their blood on this spot. We tell her that we are as much rebels to her rule to-day as our fathers were in '98."—("Freeman's Journal," June 24.)

Irish Loyalty.

Irish "loyalty" to Great Britain and the Empire, concerning which Mr. Redmond, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, and other Irish "patriots" have so much to say in England, and so little in Ireland, has been illustrated recently by two remarkable incidents.

The North Dublin Guardians had before them recently a notice of motion to the effect that—

"In future the Unicorn and Lion, the English Crown, or any such foreign emblems, shall not appear on any stationery used by this Board; and that any resolution to the contrary be rescinded."

The mover of the resolution, Mr. Denis Doyle, complained that he thought it would not have been necessary to move such a resolution, as he believed that he had purged the matter when he got "On His Majesty's Service" removed from the envelopes.

The motion was eventually lost by 12 votes to 9, sedition that day not having a majority on the Board.

In pursuance of his campaign the same gentleman has handed the following notice of motion to the Town Clerk of Dublin to be considered by the Corporation :—

"That the Estates and Finance Committee be requested to have the life-size portrait of her late Majesty Queen Victoria of England removed from the hall of the Mansion House to a less prominent position, and to have its place filled by the portrait of some person who has rendered service to the Irish nation."

A Rebel Utterance.

Nationalist M.P.'s are very sensitive if any hard words are used concerning them by their opponents. They are not quite so fastidious in their language when speaking about those with whom they disagree. For instance, when Mr. James Halpin, M.P., presided over the last quarterly meeting of the East Clare Executive of the United Irish League, he supported a resolution calling upon "The Chairman and members of the Irish Parliamentary party to use every means in their power to prevent young Irishmen from joining England's Army and Navy, and the ranks of that degraded force—the Royal Irish Constabulary."

This Mr. Halpin, M.P. (who, we assume, has taken the oath of allegiance on entering Parliament), declared that "it was a first-class resolution,

and that every man should be pleased to have it passed"; and he went on to observe that "he thought everybody knew that he was against Irishmen going into the British Army or Police. **He would sooner take the rifle against them,** and he believed that until they had an Army and a Navy of their own, they could never have a proper nation."

At Motherwell.

The Irish leader is apparently very angry that newspapers in Great Britain should agree with the Irish Judges who have condemned the present state of Ireland as being "a reign of terror," and "a condition bordering on anarchy and chaos." Once more he declares that Ireland is "comparatively crimeless"; and he threatens that, if the people and Press of England insist on publishing Irish crimes, he will "set his colleagues to work" to tell us all about crime in Great Britain. A first-rate idea, and one which will give employment and information to many men who are in search of both. These "colleagues" will discover three things that may be new to them: that in Great Britain there is no United Irish League to sanction boycotting and intimidation and cattle-driving, and other organised disorders of an agrarian character; that the crime in Great Britain is personal and not political in its inception and its ends; that magistrates and juries in England have not the fear of leagues and priests before their eyes, and that they send criminals to gaol when they are caught red-handed. Perhaps Mr. Ginnell will apply for one of his leader's new posts.

Home Rule.

In one particular we agree with Mr. Redmond, who is always outspoken. He will tolerate no shuffling or half-measures or steps "leading up to the larger policy." He says:

"The present Parliament will not last long; and before, and when it comes to an end, the Irish will have to take such steps in and out of Parliament as will make it certain that . . . the question of Home Rule shall be fairly and squarely put before the electors at the next General Election. We have to impress upon England that this half-measure is dead and gone, and that there can be no peace and no contentment or rest in Ireland until the full control of Irish affairs is vested in the hands of Irishmen themselves."

We must admire his pluck, even if we have to despise his judgment, as the engine-driver said of the bull which tried to butt an express train.

Mr. Redmond and the Empire.

To the Editor,

Sir,—In "The Times" of Nov. 30, a speech by Mr. Redmond at Glasgow is reported, in which he said that he would put one great argument in favour of Home Rule before them, which ought to appeal to Scotsmen and members of the Empire, quite distinct from the sentiment of Irish Nationalists. This argument, as he called it, was that public opinion has been recently concentrated on the position of the self-governing Colonies, and the granting of self-government to the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies at the very moment when autonomy was denied to Ireland. Now, the condition aimed at in these self-governing Colonies has been in an entirely opposite direction to that which Mr. Redmond wishes to make

out. It has been entirely one of consolidation and concentration. Even in the Transvaal the hope of being joined with all the other Colonies in South Africa in one dominion under the British Flag has been expressed by Mr. Botha. In Australia, the separate Colonies of a few years ago have all been brought into one Commonwealth, under one Parliament. In New Zealand, which has been recently made a Dominion, there are three islands all under one Parliament. Does Mr. Redmond think that for one moment the idea that each of these islands, which are nearly as far apart as Ireland and Great Britain, should have a separate Parliament, would be tolerated for one moment? Ireland is part of the United Kingdom, which is one portion of the Empire, and what he wishes is that this portion of the Empire should be split up, while all the others of which he speaks are trying to consolidate.

“A COLONIST.”

The Arm of the Law.

The Winter Assizes have been held, and in the Dublin High Court of Justice several batches of men have been tried for riot and unlawful assembly “to the great disturbance and terror of the liege subjects of our Lord the King.” The Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. Cherry, M.P.) undertook the prosecutions in spite of his miserable fiasco in the summer, when employed on the same job. He had come hot-foot from Belfast, where he had been explaining that “until the people were united in a desire to enforce the law there is no good in prosecution.” On

Monday, Nov. 25, five men were brought up for trial, and the Chief Law Officer, after reciting the facts against them, said:

“The Crown does not ask for very severe punishment in these cases; all we want is to put a stop to this business. If punishment is necessary, we shall ask his Lordship to give as little as will be consistent with maintaining law and order in the country.”

What an advocate!

The Judge, in summing up, asked “if the jury is satisfied of the **facts which have not only been proved, but are uncontradicted?**”

After deliberating for 1½ hours, the men were found guilty of unlawful assembly, but not of riot or conspiracy! Four months imprisonment.

Tuesday, Nov. 26.

Ten men were charged with conspiracy, riot, and unlawful assembly in connection with cattle-driving. Once more the Attorney-General prosecuted, urging that “if these things were allowed to go on unchecked and unpunished, a **state of complete anarchy** would result.” The barristers for the defendants admitted all the facts against their clients, but asked, “Why had the men who advocated cattle-driving not been punished?” The Judge charged the jury that the practices complained of were illegal, and, if permitted, “must land the country in anarchy and chaos.”

The jury disagreed, and not a man was punished.

Wednesday, Nov. 27.

Twelve men were prosecuted for cattle-driving in Roscommon. The unfortunate Attorney-General led the attack, minimising the offence, which he declared to be “folly—nothing else than folly”; although he described the drive as having been executed by a crowd of 300 or 400, “led by a member of the Roscommon County Council on horseback—a regular army led by a cavalry officer,” and concluded by telling the jury that if “after hearing the facts, which would be practically uncontra-

dicted, they refused to act, they would be **violating the oath** which they had taken." Nevertheless the dreary travesty continued. Mr. Lynch charged the Attorney-General with "absolute funk" in bringing these cases into Court; the Solicitor-General denied this, and urged that they were "making a bold attempt to carry on the administration by the processes of ordinary law"; the Judge summed up in favour of law and order and dead against the prisoners; once again **the jury disagreed**, and the crime remains unpunished.

Thursday, Nov. 28.

Fifteen men, including a J.P., were tried for riot and unlawful assembly at Hill Street, Roscommon. Evidence was taken for the prosecution; none was offered by the defendants; **the jury disagreed**, and the **prisoners were bound over** to appear at next Petty Sessions.

Friday, Nov. 29.

Two rustic-looking youths were prosecuted in the Nisi Prius Court before Mr. Justice Wright and a Common Jury. Twenty persons were implicated in the cattle-driving, but apparently only these two had been arrested. Evidence as to the facts was given, and went uncontradicted. Nevertheless, after retiring for five minutes, the jury **acquitted the prisoners**.

A second and similar case came on the same afternoon in the same Court. Nine men were charged for unlawful assembly and riot. The Attorney-General prosecuted, and the facts which he stated were admitted by the defendants' counsel, who again declared that "these prosecutions are farcical"; and he added, "Why do you not **prosecute the leaders** who are advising and encouraging this cattle-driving?" The Judge, at the conclusion of his summing-up, remarked: "The defendants have broken the law, and I ask the jury to say so." The jury disagreed, and the prisoners were discharged and bound over to appear at next Athenry Petty Sessions. Then followed this conversation:

Mr. Justice Wright: "Is there any use in going on with the rest of these cases?"

The Solicitor-General: "Oh, my Lord, we must persevere with them."

Mr. Justice Wright: "Very well. **It is the most degrading experience that I have had since I have been on the Bench.**"

Monday, Dec. 2.

Concluding day of farce: 26 men charged: **jury disagreed**.

Trusting the Jury.

"They believed that if they showed the juries throughout the country that they were to be trusted, and that they were really made responsible to preserve law and order, they would respond to that appeal and do their duty."—Mr. Cherry, Attorney-General for Ireland, House of Commons, March 13, 1907.

On August. 5, 1907, Mr. Cherry, M.P., the Irish Attorney-General, answering a question by Mr. Moore, M.P., stated that 167 persons had been returned for trial at the Summer Assizes for offences of an agrarian character, and that of these only 57 persons were actually placed on trial—the trials of the remaining 110 persons having been postponed till the next Assizes. The results of the trials in the 57 cases were:—**Three convictions, 31 acquittals, and 23 disagreements of juries.**

At the Michaelmas Sittings of the Court of King's Bench, in Dublin,

before "ordinary" juries, 94 persons were put on trial for agrarian outrages committed in the counties of Galway and Roscommon at various dates between April 27 and June 9. **Of these, five were convicted, two acquitted, juries failed to agree in the cases of 72 ; and in the remaining 15 cases the Crown exercised the wise discretion of abandoning proceedings.**

A considerable number of other persons charged with similar crimes were tried at the Winter Assizes (*see below*) ; but taking the two batches of 57 and 94 persons (151 in all) already tried at Summer Assizes and before the King's Bench Division, under the "ordinary" law, and before "ordinary" juries, it will be seen that the **Crown have secured the conviction of just eight persons ;** that 33 have been acquitted ; that juries have disagreed in 95 cases ; and that proceedings have been abandoned in the cases of 15.

There are still jurymen who remember Mr. William O'Brien's word of cheer to such men in 1897 : " They will have to be tried before a jury of their fellow-countrymen . . . that would not return any other verdict except ' **More power to you—God reward you.** ' "—(Aghamore, Jan. 31, 1897.)

The Winter Assizes.

The Winter Assizes have been held all over Ireland. Commencing on Dec. 3, the results in cases of agrarian outrages (cattle-driving, &c.) have been as follows :—

Tuesday, December 3.

Connaught Assizes, Limerick.—Before Mr. Justice Andrews. Charge of riot and unlawful assembly against 16 men for cattle-driving on July 29 at Ballygurrane, Co. Galway.

Evidence was given showing that a crowd of 200 persons, many of them armed with sticks, attacked Mr. Persse's cattle, notwithstanding the presence of the police.

Result : Jury disagreed.

Wednesday, December 4.

Munster Assizes, Cork.—Before the Lord Chief Justice. Eleven persons charged with having, on May 18, " being armed with sticks, stones, and other offensive weapons, at Roscomroe, Roscrea, unlawfully assembled and gathered together to disturb the peace and for the purpose of driving away, by force and violence, certain cattle, the property of Nathaniel Luttrell." On other counts they were charged with riot and unlawful assembly ; and with conspiracy to intimidate and compel Mr. Luttrell to give up possession of his farm.

The Solicitor-General, who prosecuted, said that the case was " an important one." He asked the jury " to give a verdict manfully," and help " to put an end to this mischievous practice, that had brought upon it high censure, as being both illegal and immoral, and bringing nothing but injury in its train."

No evidence was called for the defence.

Result : Jury returned a verdict of not guilty on all counts.

Connaught Assizes, Limerick.—Before Mr. Justice Andrews. Thirteen men charged with riot and unlawful assembly at Gort, Co. Galway, on Aug. 5.

Jury disagreed.

Thursday, December 5.

Leinster Assizes, Wicklow.—Before Chief Baron Palles. Second (and concluding) day of trial of Mr. J. P. Farrell, M.P., and 12 other persons for conspiring to drive the cattle of Mr. A. Persse and Mr. A. Percival, on Aug. 18, at Moneylogan and Carton, Co. Longford, and for unlawful assembly and riot.

The Attorney-General, who prosecuted, said that such a case as this became serious when it "was part and parcel of a number of similar cases going on throughout the country, which, if allowed to continue, must end, and could only end, in what was called **mob law**."

The Attorney-General continued:—

"It would be an intolerable thing, especially for people living at a distance from large towns, if every Tom, Dick, and Harry in the neighbouring village would be able to dictate what a farmer was to do with his land—whether he was to keep his land or give it up, whether he was to graze or till it, or whether he was to employ labour, or did not labour the land at all."

After describing the cattle-drive, the Attorney-General said:—

"The state of affairs under which such a thing could happen must inevitably produce **open anarchy** in the country. **It was, in fact, a worse condition of things than was to be met with amongst the savages of West Africa—nothing more or less than mob law.** It rested with the jury to decide by their verdict whether they were going to have a continuance and an extension of mob law, and find later on their own County of Wicklow, which had been peaceful up to the present, plunged into a state of turmoil and terror, like some of the counties in the West, or whether that alarming state of affairs was to cease, and no more of those injuries and injustices inflicted upon individuals throughout the country."—"Daily Express," Dec. 5.

Result: Jury disagreed on all counts in the indictment.

Saturday, December 7.

Leinster Assizes, Wicklow.—Before Chief Baron Palles. Second (and concluding) day of trial of 17 persons for cattle-driving at Curry, Co. Longford, on Aug. 18.

The Chief Baron, addressing the jury, said that he considered this case of **supreme importance to the peace of the country.**

Result: Jury disagreed on all the counts of the indictment.

Tuesday, December 10.

Leinster Assizes, Wicklow.—Before Chief Baron Palles. Twelve persons tried for cattle-driving.

Result: Prisoners acquitted.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

Persons tried	82
Persons convicted	0
Jury disagreed	59
Prisoners acquitted	23

"An Unhappy State of Facts."

Chief Baron Palles, addressing the Grand Jury at Wicklow on Dec. 2, referred to Mr. Redmond's recent speech in Scotland, when the Nationalist leader said:—

"In some few places in Ireland crowds of people had gone on to these ranches and driven the cattle off, and along the highroad, and left them at the hall door of the rancher."

Now, gentlemen, said his lordship, this, to my mind, is the mischievous part of what he (Mr. Redmond) said:—

"Was that a crime, an outrage? No doubt it was an offence against the law, but they could not call these offences outrages and crimes."

That meant, his lordship proceeded, that an act was to be weighed with reference to its criminal aspect, not by the law as it existed, the law that protected the owners of property, the occupiers of property, and themselves and him, and all of them, but was to be judged by a different standard, and acts were to be justified according to that standard. He could only say that it was **an unhappy state of facts**, that either in this country or in the sister country of Scotland, such a doctrine as that could be promulgated, and, he regretted to say, promulgated with impunity.—"Daily Express," Dec. 3.

"Open Defiance of the Law."

The Lord Chief Justice, opening the Munster Assizes at Cork on Dec. 3, said:—

"They heard a good deal of cattle-driving lately. It was a novel offence, and some people tried to make light of it, but it was as demoralising to the people as it well could be. Why was it demoralising? Because it was a crime that was organised—**an organised crime**, if he might use the expression. **It was absolutely undisguised and committed in open defiance of the law.** The law was publicly spurned, and he said with the deepest regret that in reference to this offence the Executive authorities responsible for the peace of the country were openly derided by those who break the law—openly flouted and treated though of nothing. That was most deplorable, and most demoralising to the people. His lordship particularly regretted that. Some months ago, when speaking to the Grand Jury of the North Riding of Tipperary with reference to this offence, he said that the crime was infectious. It was a mere truism that crime was infectious, but it was a truism that as regards this particular offence had proved very true indeed. . . . He understood that the County of Kerry showed substantial signs of improvement, and he was glad to say that indeed, but **there were some 13 men under police protection**, which was an ugly feature—police constantly residing in the houses of people whose lives are supposed to be in jeopardy or against whom outrage is apprehended. Take the biggest county in England—Yorkshire. Supposing there were 13 persons under constant police protection, with police living in their houses, what would the Yorkshire people do? What would England do?"—"Daily Express," Dec. 4.

What C.-B. said: Advice for A. B.

Mr. J. H. Campbell, K.C., M.P., speaking at Londonderry on Dec. 7, suggested that Mr. Birrell might do well, in the interest of peace in Ireland, to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the following pronouncements by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman when he was Chief Secretary for Ireland.

Shortly after he was appointed to that post, the present Prime Minister said at Stirling, on October 17, 1885:—

"But the key of the whole of this question was this—that in many parts of Ireland, for certain classes of offences, especially offences of an agrarian character, **they could not trust to the ordinary class of jurymen doing their duty, partly from ignorance, partly from prejudice, but mainly owing to the cruel and overpowering system of terror under the National League.** They could not be sure with the clearest evidence of being able to get a verdict. Now he maintained that in order to uphold the arm of justice in Ireland it was not merely reasonable but necessary to provide some measures which would overcome that difficulty, and it might very well have been made part of the permanent law."

Later, in a speech on Oct. 24, 1885, he said:—

"All I thought was wanting was that we should provide means by which there could be secured, easily and equitably and without injury to any one, a fair and impartial trial for certain kinds of offences in the trial of which you **cannot depend upon the ordinary Irish jurymen doing his duty.** I mean by a fair trial, a trial fair not only to the man charged, but to the victims of the offence and to the community which is injured by the commission of the offence. Without this the arm of justice must be paralysed, unnerved, and I am much mistaken if that is not the case at the present day."

The Revolver better than Cattle-driving.

The conflict of views with reference to the advantages gained by "cattle-raiding" resolved itself into a scene at the meeting of the Ballinrobe Guardians on Dec. 2.

"Reference was made to cattle-driving and to the advice communicated to the people on Sunday from Archbishop Healy through the priests of the Archdiocese to desist from cattle-driving.

"Mr. Thomas Heraghty declared it would take all the bishops and priests in Ireland to settle this troublesome question, but it was monstrous and shameful, and disgraceful beyond all doubt, for any person or any authority in Ireland to say that they were not within their rights in doing what they did. Though he had no sympathy with cattle-driving, yet they were within their right, and he warned these persons to be careful of what they said, or else something might happen which would surprise them. At a certain church on Sunday there was reference made to the Fenians, of which body he (Mr. Heraghty) was a member. There might have been informers amongst the Fenians, but it was through that brotherhood they got whatever concessions they did.

"The Chairman was strongly of opinion that cattle-driving was a nonsensical business altogether, and was calculated rather to injure than improve the country. It was, besides, neither a manly nor a soldierly performance. He did not belong to Mr. Redmond's party or to Mr. O'Brien's because there was too much bickering on both sides, while the country was let go to the dogs. He believed in the Fenians, and there was many a good Fenian yet.

"Mr. Heraghty: They are the boys that will make them squeal.

"The Chairman: **The report of the revolver now and again is far better than cattle-driving or speechmaking and bickering.**

"Mr. Heraghty: Hear, hear; that is the talk. The Fenians for it.

"The Chairman: And before we go any further I say it is not the duty of the priests or the bishop to join in this matter at all, but rather to protect the poor against the oppressor. That is their duty, and it is our duty to do as our conscience dictates."—"Daily Express," Dec. 4.

Economic Aspect of Cattle-Driving.

Mr. Arthur W. Samuels, K.C., writing to "The Times" (Dec. 3), points out how soon the effect of the "cattle-driving" policy will be felt in pounds, shillings, and pence in English households.

"As yet," says Mr. Samuels, "its effects have hardly begun to tell. Next year they will be felt to the full. . . The lettings for 1906 are now terminating; their renewal for 1907 is to be prohibited. The 'policy' directs that the grazing lands are to be let run to meadow, and the meadows to be spiked and 'to rot and whiten' on the fields.

"This is the new plan of campaign. The graziers' credit with the banks is to be broken and the cattle dealers bankrupted. How the ruin of the cattle trade may affect the farmers who rear young stock, the shareholders in Irish banks, those who have their investments in not only Irish railways but in the great cattle-carrying companies in England, such as the London and North-Western, the Midland, and the Great Western Railways, how it may affect the traders and shopkeepers, and the innumerable other persons connected with the widespread cattle industry, concerns Mr. Ginnell and his fellow-Parliamentarians not at all, and apparently not a whit more does it concern the present Ministry, but **what Ginnellism plus Birrellism may soon cost the British housekeeper may be gathered from the fact that in 1905 £14,000,000 worth of cattle and sheep were sent from Ireland to the English market, and that the value of the Irish import cattle trade exceeded by £4,000,000 that of the combined livestock imports into Great Britain of all the other countries in the world.**"

Commenting on Mr. Samuels' letter, "The Times" says:—"The grazing industry brings £14,000,000 a year into Ireland, but it is to be smashed in order to further the ambitions of Irish politicians. In due time we shall no doubt be called upon to assist Irish distress, but in a nearer future we shall have to suffer dislocation of English industries dependent upon Irish livestock, and shall have to pay enhanced prices for beef, at least until supplies can be correspondingly increased from other sources. People who do not hesitate to destroy the principal industry of their own country to serve their ends are not likely to listen to Mr. Birrell's piteous complaints, or to cease from troubling, even if he divided up the grazing lands to-morrow. Irish politicians must have something to live upon. That is the prime factor in Irish disturbance, and the sop that is thrown to them to-day only stimulates their ingenuity in formulating a new demand to-morrow."

Nationalist "Unity."

Nationalist "unity" made itself apparent at Kilkenny on Nov. 4, where a proposal to confer the freedom of the borough on Mr. Redmond

was rejected, unless the names of Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., and Sir Thomas Esmonde were added.

Rival Nationalist factions in the Council Chamber showed little regard for the feelings of the "patriots," and it was apparent that the various expulsions of Mr. Redmond's rivals from the Irish Parliamentary party had not been viewed with entire approval.

A few days later (November 13) the Limerick Board of Guardians rescinded a resolution passed at the previous meeting, and unanimously resolved that no address be presented to Mr. Redmond on the occasion of his visit. The vice-chairman moved the "no address" resolution on the ground that the previous decision was in contravention of a resolution of the Board calling for unity among Irish National representatives. He was supported by the chairman, who said that steps were going to be taken to "make the politicians come together for the good of the country, and not for themselves."

How much longer shall we be told that Mr. Redmond is "the leader of the Irish people?" Many Liberals in this country are guilty of this inaccuracy, which only misleads the electors.

A Nationalist Paper on "Unity."

In view of Mr. Redmond's amusing boasts of the absolute "unity" of Irish Nationalists, the following extracts from the "Kilkenny People" will furnish interesting reading. It says:—

"If the people of Ireland were really determined on this matter, if they entered into the struggle with the enthusiasm that marked the earlier stages of the agitation Home Rule would become alive wonderfully quick. We all remember how Gladstone first denounced Parnell and the Irish party in all the moods and tenses, and then surrendered to them. And the same transformation scene could again be effected if the same forces were at work. But the country must first agree on a settled policy. **At present everything is unsettled. We have been told, of course, time and time again by Members of Parliament that there is absolute unity in the country but really their own performances supply the most powerful contradiction of the statements that they recklessly make.**

"The reports published in the Press this week furnish three rather striking instances of what we mean. Several members of the Irish party have been actively engaged in the cattle driving policy, and one member, Mr. Farrell, is being made the subject of a criminal prosecution for the part he is alleged to have played in organising drives. In face of this another member of the party, Mr. O'Dowd, has publicly repudiated the policy.

"Take another instance. Mr. Ginnell has been one of the most prominent of the group of members who have been attacking the ranching system. In fact he might be called the "Father" of the cattle-driving movement. Yet, at the Liberal meeting in Belfast, at which Mr. Birrell denounced the cattle drivers and referred in sneering terms to Mr. Ginnell, one of the most conspicuous figures on the platform was Mr. Samuel Young, a pledge-bound member of the Irish party. We should like to know, by the way, is it permissible for Irish members to take part in Liberal demonstrations, especially in demonstrations at which some of their own colleagues

are denounced by British Ministers. We don't think anything of the kind was permitted in the old days, and we do not forget how quickly Mr. John O'Connor Power was brought to book when he sought to reconcile his Liberalism and his Nationalism.

"The third instance we have in mind occurred this week in Thurles when Mr. Kendal O'Brien felt compelled publicly to protest against what he described as an outrageous attack made on him in his absence by a colleague of his, Mr. Reddy.

"What is the use of talking about unity when such extraordinary divergences of opinion, not on mere details but on vital principles, are shown by the very men whose duty it is to enforce and to inculcate unity amongst themselves so as to be an example to the country. . . There was never a time when there was greater need of unity than at present. We don't object to honest differences of opinion in the country because in any intelligent community differences of opinion are bound to exist when men think for themselves. But there are sinister and disintegrating influences at work in the country to-day and there is no word of condemnation for them. How is it that there are no resolutions calling attention to the fact that a so-called nationalist lawyer and journalist, Mr. Bodkin, who has drawn hundreds of pounds from the national exchequer has lately jobbed his way to the bench? And how many more of the same class are at present trading on their nationality and making of it a marketable commodity?"—November 30.

For a full list of Agrarian Offences, etc., see "Life in Ireland," p. 340.

The Good Samaritan.

On Oct. 16 (as subsequently reported in Daily Papers), Fred Pierce, a caretaker of an evicted farm near Crusheen, was shot at, about 6 p.m., on the public road. Two shots hit him, and he lay a considerable time in the road. Various people passed and refused to take him up. After about two hours he got stronger, and struggled bleeding to a house near; the owners refused to admit him, or let him warm himself at the fire. He then got admittance from a small farmer named Tobin, who kept him for a couple of hours till the police came to convey him to hospital. On the 8th of this month an imitation grave, about 4 ft. long and 1 in. deep, was traced in the ground at the well from which Tobin and his family draw water; it is not on his land, but close to his house. The intimidating significance of a grave is quite apparent, and it was put at a place where others would see it. Up to this, Tobin had been popular, and his only offence was to shelter a wounded man. Comment is superfluous.

Galway's Gratitude.

Galway's gratitude to those who are engaged in promoting the industrial progress of Ireland has been amply proved. At the Galway Quarter Sessions (Nov. 1) the Department of Agriculture was awarded £470 for the malicious burning of a house, its property, near Athenry. Fields of oats and meadow belonging to the Department had been "spiked," about 2 cwt. of spikes being taken out of the meadow alone.

Mr. T. W. Russell's opinion of these outrages on the property of his Department have not been made public. Does he also consider them "comparatively harmless" ?

Life in Ireland under the League.

From the "Roscommon Herald" (November 2), an Irish Nationalist paper, we take the following account of life in Ireland under the rule of the United Irish League. It will be a revelation to electors in Great Britain, and will help them to appreciate the sufferings and danger to which men are exposed in Ireland who happen to differ in opinion from the majority :—

"A well-informed correspondent sends us details of the plight of the Messrs. M'Cann, who have been practically isolated at Newtownforbes since the cattle drives took place on their grass farms, which they hold under Col. Douglas. Formerly they were amongst the most popular men in the locality, having at various times secured election to the County Council and District Council in Longford. At the last quarterly meeting of the District Council in Longford, when one of them attended as a member, the others present all began to walk out, and in order that business might proceed, he left, and the others returned.

On the last fair day in Longford, in walking to the railway station, Mr. M'Cann, who was under the eye of the police, was **vigorously hooted** by Roscommon men at the fair, **mud being also pelted at him**. . . They used to get their bread by rail from Boland's Bakery in Dublin, but on this being represented to that firm, of which Mr. Sexton is director, **the supply was stopped**. Ronan, the cattle dealer, who lives in Newry, was told by the Newry U.I.L. not to interfere, but he came on a week day, and bought their cattle, at a price which is believed would leave him £100 profit. The crowd that went to the train on the fair eve looking for Ronan were in **a very dangerous mood**, and if he had come by that train, it is hard to say what would happen. About twenty labourers left the employment of the Messrs. M'Cann, Percival and Pearse, who are isolated in that district since the cattle drives. These workmen receive wages weekly, and are amongst the most active spirits now in the movement. Vigilance Committees have been appointed, who do their work with thoroughness, with the result that every move is duly noted. Last week Mr. Percival sent to Mr. King's for timber. Some of the staff refused to give it, but under orders the man was allowed to take it himself. This was before the Longford Branch of the U.I.L. on Sunday, and a week was given before definite action would be taken. Mr. M'Cann had a public house in Newtownforbes, and since the trouble began all business at it has ceased. When the agitation began last August these gentlemen could not imagine that it would assume the proportions it did, and never dreamt it would."

Attempted Murder of Mr. White-Blake and his mother.

A most cowardly attempt to murder by shooting occurred on Sunday, November 17. The "Irish Times" (November 19) gives the following account of the crime :—

On Sunday, while Mr. Helenus White-Blake, J.P., was **returning from early mass**, he was fired at as he approached his own demesne, and he and Mrs. White, his mother, who was with him, were both wounded. Mr. White-Blake had for some time past been under police protection, and **two constables were accompanying him and Mrs. White** when the shots were fired.

After leaving the chapel, it appears that Mr. White-Blake, with his mother and his escort, was returning to his residence at Hollypark, near Craughwell, by what is known as the Mass Path—or the path which is used by people attending Mass. This path leads into his demesne at a certain point, and just as he approached the demesne two shots were fired from a thicket about forty yards distant, and the pellets of both shots struck Mr. White-Blake and his mother, inflicting wounds which, happily, are not regarded as serious, on different parts of their bodies. The two constables immediately rushed towards the thicket, and discharged their revolvers in the direction whence the shots had come. They afterwards searched the thicket, but a large quantity of heavy undergrowth impeded their progress and obscured their view, with the result that they discovered nobody.

Two other policemen, who were on patrol duty, were attracted to the place by the shots, and they joined in the search, which, as already indicated, proved fruitless. **The constables forming the escort, hearing cheering and jeering** where Mr. White-Blake was, returned to him, fearing that he might be again attacked. No further attack, however, was made, and Mr. White-Blake and his mother were assisted to Hollypark House, where they were attended by Dr. Quinlan, of Athenry.

In addition to the wounds received by Mr. White-Blake and Mrs. White, two countrymen who chanced to be present when the shots were fired were struck by a few of the scattering pellets, and their wounds, fortunately, are also comparatively slight.

Up to the present no arrests have been made.

The cause of the outrage is very well known. Mr. White-Blake holds from Lord Ardilaun a farm of land, which dovetails into his demesne. This farm, which had been held for many years by his predecessors, was the object of some attention recently on the part of the United Irish League. Mr. White-Blake was asked by the League to surrender it for the purpose of having it divided to enlarge uneconomic holdings. No arrangement was arrived at then, and **his cattle were subsequently driven off the lands**. He afterwards intimated that he was willing to surrender the farm, all but the portion which runs into and forms part of his demesne. It was understood at first that this offer would be accepted, but at a later stage the League withdrew from it, and thenceforward police protection for Mr. White-Blake's safety became necessary. The attack made upon him on Sunday will be understood when these facts are read in connection with it.

It will be remembered that on the night of June 23 Mr. Blake's house was fired into, and he narrowly escaped being wounded. His servants shortly afterwards received threatening letters ordering them to give up their situations or to suffer being shot at. Mr. Blake has also had his cattle driven.

Since the firing outrage in June Mr. Blake has been under constant police protection.

This series of outrages upon the life and property of a perfectly law-abiding person whose only offence is a refusal to meet the entire demands of the League is a valuable illustration of life in Ireland under Mr. Birrell's rule.

So also the events which culminated in the attempted murder of two persons ought to convince Mr. Birrell of the grave responsibility he incurs in failing to put down disorder and outrage in their first stages. Condonation of outrage in its less severe form only leads to graver and more reprehensible crimes.

Relentless Persecution Victorious.

The last chapter in the history of the United Irish League campaign of terror against an unpopular family is now written. From the "*Daily Express*" (November 25) we take the following account from their Carrick-on-Shannon correspondent written on the previous day:—

"The surrendering of the evicted farms at Ballinglera, County Leitrim, to the Estates Commissioners by Bailiff Brady was celebrated by the tenantry in that district last evening; bands turned out, and the hillsides were ablaze with bonfires.

"Five years ago Brady took possession of three farms, which comprise about fifty acres, from which three families were evicted, and since that time he has been subject to such a severe boycott that, after enduring severe hardship, he was compelled to yield to the demand of the League. It will be remembered that no matter at what time of the night he left his home to make purchases for the support of himself and family he was espied by the emissaries of the League, who warned the whole countryside by the blowing of horns.

"The unfortunate bailiff would be pursued by large crowds carrying all sorts of formidable farming implements, for distances of upwards of twenty miles, and any shopkeeper who supplied him with goods did so at the risk of losing trade, so complete was the chain of terrorism that reigned in the northern portion of the county.

"It will also be remembered that while in quest of provisions at Drumkeeran he was attacked by a crowd of five hundred persons, who wrecked his little cart and scattered his food supplies broadcast on the roadside, and for alleged complicity in which fourteen persons stood their trial on three occasions in Leitrim and Sligo, but at each trial the jury disagreed.

"The Creamers have been reinstated on the land from which they were evicted, and the Commissioners have advanced money for stocking them and building suitable residences thereon; but, notwithstanding all these concessions, the League is determined in keeping on the boycott until Brady sells the few acres he holds and quits the country for ever. The family presently are reduced to a most unenviable plight for want of the necessities of life, and only for the police who are in the protection huts there is no doubt they would have been starved to death weeks ago."

Petty Revenge.

The length to which Irish Nationalists are prepared to carry their political opinions is seen in the recent dismissal of Mr. Scully, a local

engineer, by the Waterford Board of Guardians, for giving evidence in the recent Glenaheiry Explosion case, in support of Lord Ashtown's claim.

Mr. Scully had been engaged professionally by the Guardians in carrying out certain alterations to the Workhouse. When the matter came up, the following discussion took place:—

The Chairman asked if the Guardians were done now with the services of Mr. Scully.

Clerk: You are not, sir.

Chairman: Because if we were done with Mr. Scully's services I would be inclined to leave Mr. Scully in the service of Lord Ashtown (hear, hear), and we can get Mr. Ryan or some other man. I will ask the Board as quick as they can to settle Mr. Scully's account and get rid of him. I think the Board are anxious to do so (hear, hear).

Mr. John Dunphy: I don't think the Chairman during the time he has sat in that chair ever used more patriotic words and more sensible words than on this occasion.

Mr. Michael Flynn: Or words more required.

Mr. John Dunphy (continuing): It is not much to a County Kilkenny man, but all the same I think it is a national disgrace this Ashtown business; and fearing that his lordship from Glenaheiry might get us into what you call "Grievances from Ireland" —

Chairman: Yes, that is the name of the paper.

Mr. John Dunphy: I think we might give it as a reasonable excuse that Mr. Scully—I don't know if he is anything to Billy Scully, his namesake from Tipperary—I think he will be too busy now between this and March next making out his scientific evidence for the Lord Chief Justice to attend to our business, and I have great pleasure in seconding your proposition that we have no more to do with him. I don't think it is clean or decent to ask the ratepayers to contribute one penny of their money to the fellow who went up to Glenaheiry to give a hand to the aristocracy (hear, hear).

Mr. Michael Flynn: I fully agree with every word spoken by you, Mr. Chairman, and by Mr. Dunphy. I may say I was asked some time ago could we possibly do without Mr. Scully.

Mr. John Dunphy: If we could not do without him we would be — badly off.

Mr. Michael Flynn (continuing): I said I did not know, but that I would be very glad if we could. I am very glad that the Chairman has mentioned it now, and it was his duty to do so.

Chairman: I will ask Mr. Mackey to make up Mr. Scully's account and we will get another to take up the position (hear, hear).

Mr. John Dunphy: Clear him out, and it will be a warning to all other officials as to who is paying them.

Chairman: I think Mr. Scully was not acting much in the interests of the ratepayers when he stood up and estimated the damage at £140 when there was only £60 worth done.

Mr. John Dunphy: To make that more formal, Mr. Chairman, would it not be as well for you to put it in writing?

Clerk: Yes; I will read it to you when it has been formulated.

Subsequently the Clerk read the following:—"Mr. Scully to prepare plans and estimates, and that Mr. Scully when he has done

so be requested to furnish his account for the amount due to him by the Board of Guardians" (hear, hear).

On the resolution being put Mr. Jas. Murphy and Mr. Patrick Flynn dissented. The latter, giving his reason for doing so, said he did not believe Mr. Scully had anything to do with the outrage. Mr. Scully was a professional man, who was employed by Lord Ashtown, and he had a perfect right to take any employment he got.

Mr. John Dunphy: Then we have a perfect right to employ any person we like.

The Chairman then put the resolution to the meeting, and added, I declare the resolution passed unanimously, Mr. Flynn and Mr. Murphy dissenting.—"Daily Express," November 14.

We are pleased to see from subsequent meetings of the Board that a minority of its members—some of them Nationalists—have not been disposed to accept this vindictive action of the Nationalist majority without protest.

Meanwhile the matter will afford a useful illustration of what is likely to happen to the minority when the Radical party gives the Irish Nationalists complete control over the affairs of Ireland.

"All minorities must suffer; it is the badge of their tribe," said Mr. Birrell. His experience of Ireland must have confirmed him in his opinion.

Sportsmen !

The United Irish League evidently intend to persevere with their plan of ruining the industries dependent on the Irish Hunts by endeavouring to put an end to the Hunts themselves.

The cases of the Ormond Hunt, the Corolanty Harriers, the County Meath Foxhounds, and the Ward Union Staghounds were dealt with last month. The King's County Hounds have now been compelled to abandon their fixtures in the Birr District, owing to the action of the local branch of the United Irish League.

In Queen's County the Maryborough Branch of the League have passed a resolution expressing the opinion that:—

"Persons who offend against the National cause and the welfare of the country (especially those who identify themselves with evictions, and the prosecution and sending to gaol of poor evicted tenants making a legitimate struggle for restoration to their homes) should not be afforded opportunities to hunt or shoot over tenants' lands."

Mr. P. A. Meehan, M.P., who was present, approved of and endorsed the resolution, and hoped to see it carried into practical effect.

The Kilnallock Board of Guardians and the Mitchelstown Union have adopted somewhat similar resolutions.

There seemed good reason to believe that the trouble between the Ormond Hunt and the United Irish League would be ended. A settlement was actually arrived at, thanks to certain priests who all along interested themselves in restoring peace. The United Irish Leaguers, led by the Shinrone Branch, repudiated the settlement; Mr. Michael Hogan, M.P., made a violent speech calling on the people to assemble in their thousands and stop the Hunt; and, as a consequence, the meet on November 18 was interfered with, though not with great success. The next meet on Wednesday, November 20, was the object of a determined attack by the Leaguers. The hounds were received "with groans and horn blowing."

"The fair green," continues the "Daily Express" (November 21), "is the usual place for the meet, and at 11 o'clock, when the members began to gather, they met with a warm reception. The Leaguers asked the representatives of the Hunt Club for a guarantee that the Messrs. Kenny, who were members of the club, be compelled to give up their grazing farms. This the club could not guarantee, with the result that when the Master, Mr. Craddock, made a move from the nearest covert, the crowd became excited; the horses were beaten by the people, and the dogs scattered in all directions. The scene was most exciting, the crowd yelling, horses prancing, and the dogs yelping, from the beating that they were receiving.

"The Hunt members immediately headed for Modreeny, the residence of Mr. George Whitefield, where they took refuge, and were followed by the crowd. Having reached Modreeny the dogs were kennelled. The Leaguers took possession of the lawn, and matters seemed to be at a crisis. No attempt, however, was made to hunt, but the crowd remained on the lands for a long time. There was a large force of police present."

The Hunt has since been abandoned as a result of the League's action. What that decision means to the people of the district has been well set out in the following paragraphs from the Radical paper, "The Tribune."

A Radical Paper on Irish Hunt Trouble.

From the London Radical paper "The Tribune" (Nov. 26), we take the following paragraphs referring to the latest form of disturbance in Ireland—the intimidation by the United Irish League of various Hunts. It will be noticed with interest that the writer is at one with Unionists in pointing out the loss the inhabitants of the districts will experience by the forcible stopping of the Hunts.

"The news of the renewed trouble in the Ormond country provides sorry news for those who have the interests of Irish sport at heart, and when matters come to such a pitch that the members of a Hunt are compelled to seek refuge in the house of a sympathiser whilst a mob takes possession of the lawn outside, it can only be regretfully admitted that **the position could scarcely be worse.**

"According to later accounts, moreover, there is reason for believing that the deaths of some hounds have been attributable to poison, and if so it will probably result in **many thousands of pounds being taken out of the country**, as hunting, which brings so much money in, will assuredly be stopped.

"Unhappily, too, the trouble does not appear to be entirely confined to differences between foxhunters and their neighbours, as it is reported in 'Horses Illustrated' that Mr. Saunders, the Master of the Corolanty Harriers, another King's County pack, has decided to dispose of his hounds and to remove to England, giving as his reason the ill-feeling that exists in the county, and the evident want of sympathy with hunting in general.

"It is to be trusted, however, that this determination, if expressed, will be reconsidered, as Mr. Saunders has spent a very large amount of money in the locality annually, and as his entire income

is drawn from English sources the large sums he distributes are all clear gain to a district which is not in a position to lose such a profitable source of revenue.

"Nor ought it to be forgotten that, independently of the direct disbursements of an Irish Master of Hounds, hunting is an exceptionally profitable sport for the farmers of the country, as it provides them with a very ready market for the horses they produce. If, therefore, through political animosities, they drive hounds out of their country, **it must only be to their own loss**; and not merely to the horse-breeders, but to that of agriculturists generally, for in Ireland there is very little foreign grain imported, and hunting men in consequence buy practically all the forage for their horses from farmers in the district. Hence the occurrence of such hostilities as those mentioned above are deplorable from every point of view."

Loaves and Fishes.

Subscribers in America, Ireland, and elsewhere to the funds of the Irish Nationalist party, who are pledged to virile agitation against "alien" rule, must be feeling sore at the remarkable facility displayed by members of the same independent and "patriotic" party in obtaining for themselves lucrative appointments in the British Government service in Ireland itself.

From "Sinn Fein" (Nov. 23) we take the following list of actual appointments to the Government service made from the staff of the "Freeman's Journal":—

"Richard Adams, leaderwriter 'Freeman's Journal,' appointed County Court Judge of Limerick at £1,400 per annum."

"P. J. Kelly, chief leaderwriter of the Belfast 'Morning News' ('Freeman's Journal' Belfast edition), appointed Removable Magistrate at £800 per annum."

"John George MacSweeney, Editor of the 'Weekly Freeman,' appointed Local Government Board Inspector at £800 per annum."

"Maurice Cosgrove, chief leaderwriter 'Evening Telegraph,' appointed temporary Local Government Board Inspector at three guineas per day, and travelling and maintenance expenses."

"Edward H. Ennis, leaderwriter 'Freeman's Journal,' appointed Registrar of the Court of Appeal at £1,500 per annum."

"Matthias MacDonnell Bodkin, chief leaderwriter of the 'Freeman's Journal,' appointed County Court Judge of Clare at £1,400 per annum."

We also learn that the chief supporter of "Independence" and other Irish Nationalist principles in the City of Limerick has been rewarded for his unflinching adherence to that policy by the post of Crown Solicitor in that City at a salary of £500 per annum.

The power of gold is evidently supreme among the "patriots," although it comes from the "foreigner" they are sworn to destroy.

What have the dupes to say whose subscriptions have enabled these high-minded Nationalists to feather their nests so comfortably?

There will be no Irish Nationalist leaders shortly. They will all be Castle servants!

The success of the "Freeman's Journal" as a recruiting ground for the Irish Government service is responsible for the following lines

“from a well-known pen,” which we extract from the “Irish People” (Nov. 30):—

THE SHORT CUT.

If you'd make yourself fit
For a Government sit.,
Don't go as a soldier or seaman ;
The way that is best
To that haven of rest
Lies straight through the doors of “The Freeman.”

Piquancy is added to these appointments by the comments of the “Freeman's Journal” itself (February 15, 1906), on the resolution of the Irish Nationalist party declaring its virtuous resolve not to solicit Government appointments for its supporters.

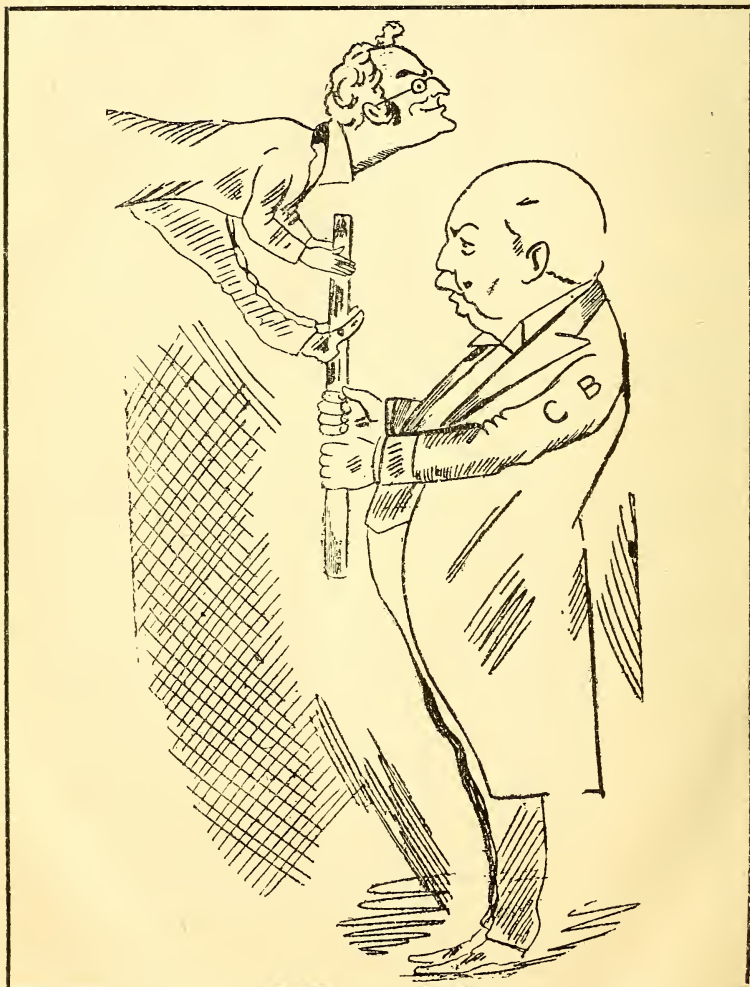
The “Freeman” said on that occasion:—

“The country will heartily endorse the resolution unanimously adopted at yesterday's meeting of the Irish Parliamentary party. The resolution takes note of the fact that the members of the party are sometimes requested by their constituents and others to use influence with the Government with the view of securing appointments, and it declares it to be inconsistent and improper for any member of the party to use influence, directly or indirectly, to obtain paid Government situations, appointments or promotions of any kind whatsoever for any person. This declaration is a fresh assertion of the independence of the Irish party, and it defines the only position consistent with the objects and the principles of the party. **To assert independence of English parties and Castle Government and yet seek their patronage would be to reduce Irish Nationalist politics to a game of make-believe.** It was playing with influence and patronage that corroded the Repeal movement and ultimately destroyed the Repeal party. For the rest, it may be left to the place-hunting denouncers of ‘the professional politician’ to reconcile this fundamental law of the Irish party with the theory of which its critics are so fond—that **the star of the Irish politician is his own self-interest.** There is not much self-interest in the declaration that we record to-day.”

AN IRISH NATIONALIST VIEW OF MR. BIRRELL.

From the "Westmeath Nationalist" (Nov. 9) we reproduce the following cartoon, which affords a striking example of the manner in which Mr. Birrell is regarded by the Irish Nationalists:—

FOR THE AMUSEMENT OF THE MERE IRISH.



Chief Secretary Birrell, as the champion Funny Man of the Cabinet, was sent to Ireland by the Scotch Prime Minister to keep the people in good humour. His latest is that he will settle the University Question next Session, or go. The joke is that he will go.

Reproduced from the "Westmeath Nationalist."

"UNION OF HEARTS?"

Mr. Birrell (Chief Secretary for Ireland), to Justice: "Yes, I know all about these outrages—but I must be careful not to offend the Irish party."

Reproduced by permission from "The People."

LIFE IN IRELAND.

A Diary of Outrages under Radical Rule.

"The condition of Ireland as a whole was very satisfactory."—Prime Minister, House of Commons, May 15, 1907.

"You may take my word for this, that Ireland is at this moment in a more peaceful condition than for the last 600 years."—Mr. Birrell, Chief Secretary, Halifax, April 26, 1907.

"It is the duty of the people of Ireland to take the ordinary steps to protect their own property."—Mr. Birrell, Chief Secretary, House of Commons, June 12, 1907.

"In our opinion the driving of cattle cannot, of itself, be considered a crime of a very serious nature."—Lord Denman, speaking for the Government, House of Lords, June 4, 1907.

"The comparatively harmless process of cattle-driving."—Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., Manchester, Oct. 14, 1907.

"I challenge contradiction of my statement, that, taking Ireland as a whole, the country is in a state of perfect peace."

"I say that, taking Ireland as a whole, there are no serious crimes whatever in the country."—Mr. Redmond, M.P., at Motherwell, Dec. 1, 1907.

October 24—Melcombe, near Westport.—Mr. F. Chambers' cattle driven off land and found next day at Derrykeel. "*Western People*," Nov. 26.

October 25—Rathmolyon, Co. Meath.—Thirty-seven head of Mr. Bernard Carew's cattle driven. "*Drogheda Independent*," Nov. 2.

October 26—Co. Galway.—A cock of hay belonging to Mr. B. Daly, J.P., destroyed by fire. "*Mayo News*," Nov. 2.

October 28—Co. Meath.—The Ratoath branch of U.I.L. send notice to Judge Fitzgerald that he will not be allowed to hunt. "*Irish Times*," Oct. 28.

October 28—King's County.—The Ormond Hounds stopped from hunting at their first meet at Fairy Hill. "*Irish Times*," Oct. 29.

October 29—Birr.—A large tract of land near Kinnity cleared, and stock driven to owners' residences. "*Irish Times*," Oct. 30.

October 29—Runnamoat.—Mr. Cooney's farm cleared of cattle. "*Midland Reporter*," Oct. 31.

October 29—Roscommon.—Mr. Hayden's stock driven off Gallows-town lands; gates knocked down and fences broken. Some cattle recovered next day; the last of them found the following evening. "*Midland Reporter*," Nov. 2.

October 29—Co. Meath.—Mr. Jas. Browne's lands near Ballivor cleared of stock. "*Irish Times*," Nov. 4.

October 31—Athboy, Co. Meath.—Mr. Dyas' cattle driven. "*Irish Times*," Nov. 4.

November 1—Co. Galway.—100 head of cattle and 20 sheep driven off lands of Ballybrit; walls knocked down. "*Roscommon Herald*," Nov. 2.

November 1—Athboy, Co. Meath.—A dwelling house on Lord Gough's estate reported to have been fired into. "*Northern Whig*," Nov. 4.

November 1—Co. Galway.—The cattle of Mr. Carr, of Lakeview, were driven off his farm, Lathoon, by a very large crowd of men, women, and children, all armed with sticks. "*Roscommon Messenger*," Nov. 9.

November 1—Co. Galway.—Mr. J. Lyons' cattle were driven by the same crowd off his Esker farm. "*Roscommon Messenger*," Nov. 9.

November 1—Co. Galway.—The two farms of Dominick Burke and Jas. Keogh at Mt. Bellew were cleared of stock. At Mt. Bellew the raiders were welcomed by two bonfires, lighted in their honour, and a band paraded the streets, accompanied by a very large crowd. "*Roscommon Messenger*," Nov. 9.

November 2—Co. Galway.—The farm of Pat Coneely in the same neighbourhood was cleared of stock by men and women. "*Roscommon Messenger*," Nov. 9.

November 2—Co. Westmeath.—Mr. Dardis' cattle were driven off Miss Fetherston's land near Rattin. "*Freeman's Journal*," Nov. 6.

November 2—Co. Galway.—An extensive drive from the farm of Mr. Lynskey at Anbally. "*Western People*," Nov. 9.

November 4—Co. Galway.—During a women's meeting, presided over by the rector's wife, large stones were thrown into the room, smashing the window glass and striking one lady. "*Dublin Daily Express*," Nov. 6.

November 4—King's County.—The master of the King's County Hunt cancelled all fixtures in the Birr district, owing to the demands of the Kilcoleman branch of U.I.L. to exclude the Master of the Ormond Hounds and the Messrs. Kenny from the hunt. "*Dublin Daily Express*," Nov. 6.

November 4—Co. Roscommon.—Mr. James McLoughlin's cattle and horses driven off Knockalaghta farm. The cattle found by police, but the horses supposed to have galloped a considerable distance. "*Freeman's Journal*," Nov. 6.

November 4—Broadford, Co. Clare.—A police sergeant whilst on patrol duty fired at and wounded. "*Freeman's Journal*," Nov. 6.

November 4—Co. Roscommon.—The people of Knockcroghery and Athlone received the prisoners released from custody on the completion of their sentence with great demonstration. "*Roscommon Messenger*," Nov. 9.

November 4—Co. Meath.—Cattle driven off the lands of Mr. Pratt at Garadice. "Dublin Daily Express," Nov. 13.

November 5—Co. Galway.—The farm of Messrs. Nathaniel and John Hughes at Muckloon cleared of stock by a big crowd armed with sticks. "Northern Whig," Nov. 6.

November 7—Co. Roscommon.—Extensive drives near Castleplunket and Ballintubber from lands under police protection after sundown. "Roscommon Messenger," Nov. 16.

November 7—Co. Roscommon.—At Mt. Druid Rent Office the Ballyroddy tenants in a body refuse to pay rent to Mr. O'Connor. "Roscommon Messenger," Nov. 16.

November 8—Co. Limerick.—Two young men charged on Nov. 11 with moonlighting raid on the house of Aneas Lane at Abbeyfeale by throwing stones and firing shots. "Limerick Leader," Nov. 13.

November 9—Co. Meath.—At Summerhill 65 cattle driven; locks and gates smashed. "Dublin Daily Express," Nov. 13.

November 9—Co. Meath.—At Rathmolyon (lately) 200 cattle cleared off a big ranch and driven 10 miles; three locks broken and a gate taken off hinges. "Dublin Daily Express," Nov. 13.

November 10—Co. Meath.—At Carlanstown, near to Wilkinstown, where Mr. Ginnell, M.P., had held a meeting during the day, a drive of cattle was made. "Dublin Daily Express," Nov. 13.

November 11—Co. Galway.—The Galway Harriers stopped from hunting in compliance with U.I.L. demands.

November 11—Co. Kildare.—Cattle-driving at Donadea; 50 cattle and 25 sheep found wandering in roads by police. "Limerick Leader," Nov. 16.

November 11—Co. Meath.—Cattle drives off three farms near Galtrim. 161 cattle turned out on roads. Some nights previously 200 cattle driven at Dunlargin, near Summerhill; a claim for £100 has been lodged with County and District Councils. "Leinster Leader," Nov. 16.

November 12—Co. Leitrim.—A meeting of the tenants of Whyte's estate carried a "no rent" manifesto, by acclamation, at Carrick-on-Shannon, on the proposition of the U.I.L. "Dublin Daily Express," Nov. 13.

November 13—Co. Roscommon.—Eighty cattle and 100 sheep driven off lands two miles from Ballintubber. "Freeman's Journal," Nov. 16.

November 13—Co. Roscommon.—At Coalpits, Mr. J. Daly's cattle driven and not recovered for nearly two days. "Roscommon Herald," Nov. 16.

November 13—Co. Galway.—A man re-took a farm at Loughrea, which he had surrendered last May, and removed the cattle (35) which were grazing on it to the Loughrea pound; whereupon 50 young men, armed with sticks, released the cattle, drove them back to the farm, levelled walls, and did other damage. "Roscommon Herald," Nov. 16.

November 14—Co. Galway.—Hill of Oran. Several hundreds of Mr. Henry D'Esterre's driven cattle recovered and returned by the police, and lands put under police protection. "Belfast News Letter," Nov. 16.

November 14—Co. Meath.—136 head of cattle, the property of Mr. H. G. Hanbury, J.P., driven off the lands of Moneymore, Moate, and Castletown, near Trim. "Belfast News Letter," Nov. 18.

November 14—Birr, King's County.—Mr. George Bruce's farm, near Clareen, was cleared of cattle. "Belfast News Letter," Nov. 18.

November 16—Birr, King's County.—Forty head of cattle driven off Mr. Hatchett's farm, Cloneslee, and driven 10 miles. "Belfast News Letter," Nov. 18.

November 16—Co. Roscommon.—At Killaraght over 200 head of cattle driven off the farms of Messrs. Gorman, Duke, and Anderson. "Northern Whig," Nov. 18.

November 16—Co. Roscommon.—The farms of Clooneycarrow, Oxhill, and Clooneygrehaun, belonging to Messrs. Feely, Notley, and O'Hara, cleared of all stock; cattle, scattered in all directions, were not got together again until late on Sunday (17th) night. "Sligo Champion," Nov. 23.

November 16—Co. Galway.—The "Western People" reports: "The cattle-driving in this district is kept up with unabated vigour. On Friday night last Mr. J. Quinn's stock were driven at Milltown; on Saturday they were put back on the land by the police, but were again driven twice on Saturday.

"As a sequel, and after an interview on Sunday with the Parish Priest, Mr. Quinn surrendered his farm, which is regarded as a great victory.

"Other drives have lately taken place at Corofin, Cloondaroon, Cloonrare, and in the Caherlistrane, Cortoon, Dunmore, and Kilconley districts. The unrest is spreading into adjoining districts." "Western People," Nov. 16.

November 17—Co. Kildare.—Cattle-driving is reported from Dunferth. "Leinster Leader," Nov. 23.

November 17—King's County.—And from Mt. Briscoe, near Phillips-town. "Leinster Leader," Nov. 23.

November 17—Co. Carlow.—Two hounds of the Carlow and Island Hunt Club died from the effects of poison picked up in a covert at Ballymurphy, five reported affected, and loss estimated at £50. "Leinster Leader," Nov. 23.

November 17—Co. Galway.—At Kilconieran, as Mr. Blake-White and his aged mother were returning home after Mass, they were fired at from a thicket and both wounded. The people rendered no assistance to the wounded persons nor tried to discover the culprits. "Roscommon Messenger," Nov. 23.

November 17—Co. Galway.—Near Hollypark. The house of Hanniffy (formerly bailiff at Dunsandle) was fired into; window panes broken. "Limerick Chronicle," Nov. 23.

November 17—Co. Galway.—At Belmont, near Milltown, some hundreds of cattle and sheep were driven and scattered on the Meldon property. The police were occupied all next day (Sunday) in searching for and driving back the stray cattle. "*Western People*," Nov. 23.

November 19—Co. Meath.—Mulpheder, Hill of Down. Forty cattle and 13 sheep driven off Capt. Magan's land. "*Irish Times*," Nov. 25.

November 20—Co. Roscommon.—Fifty cattle and four horses driven off Mr. P. McCormick's farm at Runfin, near Ballintubber, early in morning. "*Roscommon Messenger*," Nov. 23.

November 22—Co. Meath.—Three farms of Messrs. J. J. Blake, L. Murphy, and Mrs. P. J. Gannon raided, and stock scattered in all directions. "*Dublin Daily Express*," Nov. 27.

November 22—Co. Clare.—The house of Patrick Savage, at Kilsely, was fired into, and his brother, John Savage, who was sitting by the fire with his children, was wounded by a bullet. "*Clare Journal*," Nov. 25.

November 23—Co. Mayo.—Two large farms, occupied by Mrs. McHugh, of Robeen, and Mr. Ulick McDonnell, of Ballinrobe, near Robeen, Hollymount, were cleared of cattle, horses, and sheep, which were scattered in all directions. "*Western People*," Nov. 30.

November 23—Co. Meath.—Mr. Gilsean fired at, at a place called Clonbarron Boreen, on his journey home from Kildalkey. "*Belfast News Letter*," Nov. 25.

November 23—King's County.—The Ormond Hunt Club abandon the hunt owing to the hostility of the Shinrone Branch of U.I.L. "*Limerick Chronicle*," Nov. 23.

November 24—Co. Westmeath.—Rathowen district. Extensive drives of cattle from the farms of Nolagh and Corann. "*Dublin Daily Express*," Nov. 27.

November 25—Co. Westmeath.—It is announced that the banks refuse to make advances upon graziers' securities. "*Clare Journal*," Nov. 25.

November 25—Co. Leitrim.—After undergoing a vigorous boycott for five years, Brady surrendered his five evicted farms (total 50 acres) to the Estates Commissioners. The event celebrated by U.I.L. with bonfires, &c. The Brady family are in great distress from their persecutions, and are further threatened with the deprivation of the few acres they originally held and the prospect of being cleared out of the country "bag and baggage." "*Northern Whig*," Nov. 25.

November 25—Co. Longford.—Lord Longford's tenants initiate a "no rent" campaign. Headed by J. P. Farrell, M.P., they wait upon his agent and refuse to pay because his Lordship will not give a reduction. "*Northern Whig*," Nov. 25.

November 25—Killulagh, Co. Westmeath.—Forty head of James Taylor's cattle driven by a large crowd of men and women. "*Midland Reporter*," Nov. 30.

November 25—Rochfort, Co. Westmeath.—Three stacks of oats, belonging to Mr. William Killian, destroyed by fire. "*Midland Reporter*," Nov. 30.

November 25—Ballintubber, Co. Roscommon.—A crowd of about 800 men, women, and children escorted the “traversers” to the railway station and sent them off to Dublin with cheers and “God-speeds.” “Roscommon Herald,” Nov. 30.

A procession of fully 2,000 people, headed by 400 torchbearers, welcomed them back after the trials on the 27th. Bonfires were lighted all around the country. “Mayo News,” Nov. 30.

November 26—Co. Roscommon.—Extensive cattle drives are reported from Cam, 14 miles from Roscommon. “Freeman’s Journal,” Nov. 26.

November 26—Castlerea, Co. Longford.—Over 100 cattle and 60 sheep cleared off the farms of Glenarela and Gortnaaila and scattered for four miles. “Belfast News Letter,” Nov. 28.

November 26—Broadford, Co. Clare.—Three men fired at from behind a hedge when driving past the townlands of Kilmore. “Dublin Daily Express,” Nov. 27.

November 26—Broadford, Co. Clare.—Additional police have been drafted into Broadford, there being now one head constable, some sergeants, and about a dozen constables, as against one sergeant and three constables not long ago. “Limerick Chronicle,” Nov. 30.

November 27—King’s County.—In consequence of the disturbed state of the Birr district, the strength of the police force has been further increased, and is now just double what it was on April 1, 1907. “Dublin Daily Express,” Nov. 27.

SUMMARY.

Farms cleared of stock	..	..	..	..	63
Houses fired into	..	..	..	..	3
Cases of firing at persons	..	..	..	..	4
Cases of malicious burnings	..	..	..	..	2

THE PASSING OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENTARY PARTY.

[Reprinted by kind permission from the "National Review," October, 1907.]

"The usual rules have proved powerless to ensure orderly and effective debate. A new and exceptional course is imperatively demanded, and I am satisfied that I shall best carry out the will of the House, and may rely upon its support, if I decline to call upon any more members to speak, and at once proceed to put the question from the chair."

It was in these words that Mr. Speaker Brand delivered his *coup d'état* at 9 a.m. on the morning of Wednesday, February 2, 1881. The Chamber had been in continuous session since the preceding Monday. The Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Bill was under discussion, and the Irish members, led by Parnell, had held up the legislative coach for forty-one hours on end.

More is meant here than meets the eye. This scene marked the culmination and the catastrophe of that policy of organised and systematic obstruction inaugurated so astutely and practised so relentlessly by Parnell. Within a few minutes, before the commotion consequent on Mr. Speaker's stroke had subsided, Mr. Gladstone gave notice of his urgency resolution. This latter was the forerunner of a long series of resolutions, rules, and standing orders which have relegated the arm of obstruction to the limbo of the battle-axe and the cross-bow. At the beginning of the next session Mr. Gladstone introduced his new rules and closure. More stringent methods still were sanctioned in 1887 and 1888. And finally the device of closure by compartments, styled "the guillotine," arrived to perfect the system.

All these changes were inevitable. Doubtless Parnell himself during those night-long battles of the giants must have realised that the game could not go on merrily for ever—that in sheer self-defence the House would have to remodel its primitive methods of procedure.

But it was magnificent while it lasted, the old obstruction. If I were to pick out that member whose name will be most permanently associated with the practice, I should select Mr. Biggar. "What's that?" Disraeli is reported to have asked when first that weird Quasimodo climbed to his feet, and, the while he rubbed that furry waistcoat on his paunch the wrong way in a manner to give one goose-flesh, started talking in the scrannel accent of Belfast. He would assure the House that what he really wanted was to make a bad Bill good or a good Bill better. With this laudable object in view, he would read endless extracts from Blue-books until his voice was frayed so thin that it was no longer audible to the chair, and then, being admonished, would gather up his literature and, with imperturbable good-humour, step down to the Treasury Bench and there whisper his thrilling confidences right into the ear of Mr. Speaker. Not that the other members of the band were slack. O'Donnell, Power, Gray, Nolan, and the rest, played up to Parnell with a sublime disregard for the dignity of Parliament, and got

suspended, "not in single spies, but in battalions" of thirties and forties. The official reporter finds the English language inadequate to depict the scenes. "From this incident forward the business of the House proceeded under indescribable confusion," and "These proceedings caused great excitement among the members present," are a couple of his most graphic efforts.

Compared with such mighty drama, the interlude of March 5, 1901, when some eleven Irish members, on their suspension, refused to leave the Chamber until they were assisted out by the police, seems the mere absurd reduction.

For Parnell was nothing if not practical. He had watched Butt get up year after year a full-dress debate on the merits of Home Rule, only to be outvoted by overwhelming majorities. And when to Butt succeeded Shaw the young iconoclast made up his mind that the old gang of nominal Home Rulers must go. He was himself elected leader, and forthwith put in action his policy of Thorough. And how well he succeeded! Within ten years from his first entry into Parliament a Home Rule Bill was actually introduced into the Commons by the Prime Minister.

Verily Oliver Wendell Holmes was right when he called Parnell "the man who made John Bull listen."

His fame was European—indeed, world-wide. It is hardly an exaggeration to assert that he was the most important factor in British politics. Ministers of both the great English parties coquetted with him. In some instances the advances went as far as an alliance, treaty, compact—call it what you will—which was none the less real that it was not engrossed within the four corners of a parchment. Even the formidable onslaught of the "Times" failed to damage his prestige. On his first entrance into the House after the publication of the Report of the Special Commission the whole Opposition side, even including the Front Bench, sprang to their feet and cheered him to the echo.

Swift as had been the success of the Uncrowned King, the tragedy which was to engulf his career came with even more startling suddenness. In November, 1890, decree was pronounced in the undefended petition of O'Shea v. O'Shea and Parnell. Parnell innocently thought that everything would go on as before. He might well have been forgiven his simplicity. For his *collage* with Mrs. O'Shea had been public property at least since the Galway election in February, 1886, when Biggar—himself no Galahad—had bluntly blurted out that Parnell was supporting the candidature of Captain O'Shea because Captain O'Shea's wife was Parnell's mistress. And the divinely-constituted guardians of public morals in the Island of Saints had not thought it their duty to take judicial notice of so public and damning a charge. The Irish party, too, after the proceedings in the Divorce Court, had unanimously re-elected Parnell to the leadership. But the Irish party, the Catholic bishops, and even Parnell himself, had forgotten the Nonconformist conscience. Certainly Mr. Gladstone was little likely to overlook that valuable political asset. The letter to Mr. Morley set all Ireland by the ears. The bishops came out with a belated pronouncement. The Irish members in Committee Room 15 sought by cajolery and bullying to get Parnell out of the chair again. It boots little to recapitulate here his dogged struggle for the retention of the leadership, which ended in the rending of the party like the prophet's cloak; his doomed journeyings—

to scenes of violent political affray in Ireland; the futile Boulogne negotiations; and, finally, his death at the early age of forty-five.

He had invented and perfected the most powerful Parliamentary weapon of modern times—a weapon which, like Wotan's sword, was to smite in twain the anvil on which it had been welded—and he had lived to see, indeed he had himself chiefly contributed to, the destruction of that weapon.

Then ensued a period during which there was no king in Israel, but every man did what seemed right in his own eyes. There were popes and anti-popes, each infallibly consigning his rivals to the gentle amenities of Tophet. "United Ireland" appeared in two rival editions, a Parnellite and an anti-Parnellite, at the same time. The "Freeman" changed its policy as the exigencies of commerce demanded. The "National Press" and the "Independent" conducted their warfare after the most approved Eatanswillian methods. The "Insuppressible" came into existence on December 24, 1890, and, after attaining a ripe old age, was gathered to its fathers on January 24, 1891. As with the creeds, so with the Churches. National Leagues and Federations and Defence Committees—each sought to beguile the faithful into its own little tin tabernacle.

The party had ceased to exist for any purpose except the very Irish one of cracking each other's crowns. Mr. Justin M'Carthy was the titular leader of the more numerous section. Why Mr. M'Carthy was ever elevated to such a position is one of those mysteries which will perhaps be cleared up at the Day of Judgment. The contrast with the late chief was too cruelly ludicrous. The giant's robe hung about Mr. M'Carthy until, like one of those clever pieces of mystification, he seemed to shrivel into very nothingness. Mr. Parnell had called him "a nice old gentleman for a ladies' tea-party." So he was. He was guaranteed quite harmless. In his love tales the Young Person will find never a blush, albeit she may there encounter yawns not a few. It is difficult to say what connection, if any, he had with the '48 affair, but no one can conceive his revolutionary methods as being other than perfectly innocuous. The appropriate infernal machines for him would have been the cucumbers and vegetable marrows with which the gentleman-next-door in smalls and grey worsted stockings pressed his chaste attentions on Mrs. Nickleby. For some six years he filled the chair, on the whole perhaps better than a better man might have done. One is not surprised to find him now at the close placidly drawing a pension bestowed by a Tory Government.

Mr. Dillon succeeded in 1896. As the child Hannibal was sworn on the altar by his father Hamilcar to quenchless hatred of Rome, so Mr. Dillon may be said to have been nursed on antipathy to all things Saxon. His father, John Blake Dillon, was one of the Young Ireland party, and had a share, though not, it seems, a speaking part, in Smith O'Brien's burlesque at Ballingarry. Mr. Dillon is by far the most baleful influence in Irish politics of to-day. His sinister figure meets one at every turn. He touches everything, and nothing he touches that he does not embroil. His vanity is pathological. He is fascinated with the sound of his own voice. In the House that voice operates like the reading of the proclamation of the Riot Act. Members catch

"The wolf's long howl from Oonalaska's shore,"
and forthwith troop out of the Chamber. Indeed, he is sometimes

considerate enough to pause until the place is emptied of all save Mr. Speaker and the luckless wights who are sedulously whipped in to fill up the Irish benches. For the man has no sense of humour. By temperament he is incapable of seeing any side of any question but his own. His insensate detestation of England amounts to an obsession. Indeed, his moving policy is not so much love of Ireland as hatred of England. It was Fintan Lalor who argued that the national movement in Ireland had not of itself sufficient driving power, and that therefore it ought to be hitched on to a vigorous land agitation, like a tail to a kite. Mr. Dillon is well aware of the truth of this reasoning. It is no part of his plan that the Irish peasant should find his lines cast in too pleasant places. For his purpose he prefers to leave Pat some time longer under the harrow. Therefore he has consistently set himself to thwart all merely economic reforms. He opposed the Land Conference, and the legislation which followed thereon. It is not correct to say that his antagonism was due to the fact that he himself had not been asked to sit at that conference. Truth to tell, I believe that if he had been asked he would have refused. For he does not believe in conferences or concessions or conciliations, and will not be defiled with the accursed things. And so, having failed to prevent the passing of the Land Act, 1903, at Westminster, he deliberately set to work to nullify its operation in the country. In so doing, indeed, he was only carrying out the tradition of 1881, when Parnell commanded the tenant farmers not to take advantage of the Act then just passed, but to await the result of his test cases and to remember that justice required the reduction of the annual rental of Ireland from some seventeen millions to between two and three millions—that is to say, the prairie value. In Mr. Dillon's view, not landlordism, but England—*voilà l'ennemi!* And he fears, and he has good reason for fearing, that if the Irish peasant, who is at bottom a shrewd fellow, once gets comfortably settled down he will stop his ears to the charming of the agitator. During the time he walked the hospitals Mr. Dillon learned the use of the seton. He has evidently determined that the grievance of landlordism shall, until the national aspirations are fulfilled, remain as a seton in the body politic of Ireland. Not otherwise has he waged incessant vendetta against Sir Horace Plunkett. Perhaps the only joke Mr. Dillon ever made in his career is his stock jibe at Plunkett's going about the country teaching the hens to lay eggs. He has at last succeeded in driving Sir Horace from the post which he so capably administered. But let not anyone imagine that his zeal against the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction will be finally appeased by this victory.

When in February, 1900, Mr. Redmond, who had hitherto led the little band that remained steadfast to the memory of Parnell, was invited to assume the leadership of the reunited party, it seemed as if at last Irish politics were to be lifted out of the chaos in which for ten years they had lain weltering. Never had any man so golden an opportunity. The General Election placed him at the head of a pledge-bound party of 83. Let us see what he has made of it all. It is Mr. Redmond's great defect that whereas he looks a strong man he is in reality a very weak man. He has never actually been leader of the party. He has been merely as a Merovingian *faînéant* in thrall to his *Maire du Palais* for the time being. The only thing on which Johnny Forssooth can be said to have a mind at all is that, like Charles II., he is resolved

he will never again go on his travels. The General Election of 1900 was the apogee of Mr. O'Brien and his League. His voice was acclaimed as the voice of a god. Therefore Mr. Redmond O'Brienised. Then in the troubles consequent upon the Land Act, 1903, Mr. Dillon ousted O'Brien from the public favour and captured the organisation, and Mr. Redmond Dillonised. In truth there is no programme to which he is not prepared to subscribe, no comrade, however worthy, whom he is not prepared to sacrifice, so only that he retain his position and the emoluments appertaining thereto. One can imagine Dillon speaking of Redmond to Sexton in the words in which Antony speaks to Octavius of Lepidus, who has just consented to the pricking of his own brother for death:—

“Do not talk of him

But as a property.”

He worked on the Recess Committee of 1896, and later on, when Mr. Gerald Balfour had given legislative effect to the recommendations of that Committee, he joined in the hue-and-cry after Sir Horace Plunkett. He delivered Healy over to his enemies in words which are strangely reminiscent of Pilate's utterance on a certain historical occasion. He sat on the Land Conference, helped the Land Act of 1903 through the House, and, after selling his estate at a fancy price, threw over O'Brien and Dunraven and joined the syndicate who were working to wreck the operation of that Act. But his share in the conspiracy which had its upshot in the resignation of Mr. Wyndham is the most cogent proof that he possesses neither statesmanlike prescience nor the elements of the most ordinary political probity. If Mr. Wyndham had got the support he deserved, it is beyond human doubt that the two most urgent Irish questions—the question of the land and that of university education—would have been brought to a speedy and satisfactory solution. Incidentally the occupation of the agitators would have gone. And therefore the word went round that Wyndham was to be harried to destruction. It was the game of the old Invincibles, but it was played in a more cowardly, a more despicable way. Mr. Wyndham's great measure for the emancipation of the tenants was held up to execration as in effect delivering the country over to the loot of the landlords. He was accused of designs on the educational system which, if accomplished, would put Ireland in a state of siege. Finally Mr. Redmond and his friends achieved the victory of their stupidity, and drove out of public life for a time the ablest and most sympathetic statesman that ever went to the Irish Office. In comparison with this, Mr. Redmond's most recent exploit fades into insignificance. He advised on the Irish Council Bill, blessed it on its introduction to the House, and then, finding Irish opinion adverse, damned the Bill and threw over Birrell and Campbell-Bannerman.

One revolts at going through the long bead-roll of blunders which characterised his leadership. That Irish members should have disapproved of the Boer War was perhaps only to be expected. But their leader might surely have seen to it that they registered their protest decently and in order. And Englishmen would be more, or less, than human if they readily forgot the cheers and laughter with which the gravest British reverses were greeted even inside the walls of the House. No doubt the Irish thought the Boers were going to knock the bottom out of the British Empire; but even if they felt elated at that consum-

mation it would have been more politic to veil their hilarity. Anyhow, Mr. Redmond let them have their fling. Nor was his handling of the Education Bill, 1902, especially masterful. After supporting it through the summer, he so far yielded to Messrs. O'Brien and O'Connor as to order the abstention in the autumn of the Irish members, and then when the bishops captured him with a ring in his nose and a bit in his mouth he summoned the whole party hot-foot to Westminster, flung them into the lobby, and carried the Lords' "wear and tear" amendment—a piece of business which his Nonconformist friends will not quickly forget or forgive. Possibly no other man but Mr. Redmond could have achieved the feat of offending simultaneously two such powerful and opposing bodies as the English Nonconformists and the Irish bishops. Anyhow, the latter have had their revenge in the matter of the Irish Council Bill. But Mr. Redmond's most grotesque blunder was when he christened this the Home Rule year. He ought to have been warned by the fate of O'Connell. The Liberator declared that "the year 1843 is and shall be the Great Repeal Year." But the proclamation of the Clontarf meeting effectually quashed O'Connell's influence, and the year 1843 saw him a prisoner in Mountjoy. Mr. Redmond's iterated prophecies about the imminence of Home Rule have ignominiously failed. What resemblance to Home Rule can possibly be detected in that "ghastly, bloody, rotten foetus"—to use the rank phrase of Lord Randolph Churchill—to wit, the Irish Council Bill, which met its euthanasia before it had fairly cried or drawn breath?

The introduction and failure of this measure have, more than anything else, contributed to open the eyes of the people of Ireland to the failure of the Parliamentary party. Criticism, which had hitherto been restrained as a treason against the country, now runs amok. Indeed, the party has unfortunately never been above criticism. It has been the policy of successive leaders to have the party mainly composed of men who, from their position and education, or rather from their lack of both, would be docile followers. Parnell was accustomed to speak of his "ciphers." One learns at school that a cipher placed behind a unit has the effect of multiplying that unit by ten. And three score or more of ciphers ranked behind such a unit as Parnell multiplied into a very formidable product indeed. The mischief now is that there is no leader, no unit behind whom the ciphers can range themselves. Messrs. Dillon and Redmond also play the cipher game. They know that if the party were compacted of men of intelligence and independence their imposture would not endure twenty-four hours. When a vacancy is likely to occur, an artist is sent down from Dublin to tune the convention. Then at the proper moment Mr. Dillon issues his *congé d'élire*, which, as in the notorious case of South Down, is usually acquiesced in by the return of his henchman. A course of conduct like this has reduced the Irish representation to a nullity. There are not in the whole party more than half a dozen men who can follow a debate or make a speech which is not compact of the flapdoodle and claptrap which has done service since the days of Brian Boru.. Neither at Westminster nor in Ireland is their talk any more regarded than the babble of so many gramophones. And at the most a dozen are independent of their stipend. The others can be invariably brought to heel by the threat to strike their names off the party roll, and thus deprive themselves and their families of their means of subsistence.

Only the other day I had a conversation with one of these men. "Well," I said, "what are you fellows going to do now that Home Rule has been given the dirty kick-out?" "Do? Why, nothin' at all. Is it resign you'd have me? Yarra, I'm not such a bosthooon as all that. I get more in a month here for sthrollin' round the lobbies than I'd make in a year of days of hard work in Ireland. I ate mate six days in the week, an' whin I want a glass o' grog I thrate meself to Mr. John Jameson, Esq. Besides, in the recess I go spoutin' up and down Ireland. I get the best place on the platform an' the table, an' wherever I go I'm fed like a fightin' cock. Resign! Morya! I'll resign when Jack Redmond an' Willie resign, and not wan minute before. Sure, it'd be bad manners for the man to go before his masther."

With such a spirit in the party, one must admire the brothers Redmond, forasmuch as when they meet in public they, like the Roman augurs of old, are actually able to keep their countenances composed.

The proceedings in Committee Room 16 are not so sacrosanct but that some "secrets of the prison-house" now and then transpire. All initiative is imperiously discouraged. Any independence of outlook marks a man out for early removal. The member who aspires to Parliamentary longevity would be well advised, on taking his place, to have his brains scooped out and to hang across his breast a board bearing the legend, "I say ditto to Mr. Dillon." Nominally the party is democratic and its policy is freely discussed and passed upon by each man. In reality it is a machine run by a very close oligarchy. This oligarchy is at present composed of Messrs. Dillon, Redmond, O'Connor, and Sexton of the "Freeman's Journal." The first three may be said to constitute the inner ring of the party at Westminster. When any question of importance arises, they put their heads together and frame a resolution, which one of them afterwards submits to the party upstairs. There is practically no discussion. The rank and file merely register the decree of the triumvirate. That the calling together of the party for consultation is the merest farce is proved by the proceedings on the English Education Bill, 1902. All through the summer they supported that Bill with what strength they could muster. Then Messrs. T. P. O'Connor, Davitt, and William O'Brien hatched a plot. The party was called together in the City Hall, Dublin, and a resolution was put that during the autumn portion of the session they should abstain individually and collectively from all action on the Bill. This resolution was agreed to with only a single dissentient voice. But the bishops took umbrage at this betrayal of Catholic educational interests, and put on the screw as they well know how. And lo! without calling together the party to reconsider their former vote Mr. Redmond wired his conduct-money to each man and bade him be in his place in the lobby on the following day. Indeed, in considering the self-abnegation of the privates of the party and their unreasoning, unquestioning obedience to the commands, however contradictory, of their officers, one is irresistibly reminded of Loyola's stern rule that the member of his society should be in the hands of his superior *perinde ac cadaver*.

That such a party still survives is due to no merits of its own. With all its idiotic extravagance, it has not quite succeeded in squandering the magnificent inheritance bequeathed to it by Parnell. One must reckon, too, the tolerance of the clergy, who view askance the bold schemes of the more ardent spirits, and deem the Parliamentary plan

on the whole the safest outlet for the inevitable ebullitions of the Irish temperament. There is also the fact that the party has an organisation and a war-chest. The day-labourer may aspire to enter its ranks, and draw a salary which to him seems gilded opulence. The old Fenian or moonlighter is usually accorded as of right a place in the party's Prytaneum. And the ambitious young clerk or schoolmaster elbows his way inside, and forthwith proceeds, on the savings of his stipend, to eat his dinners at King's Inns and get called to the Bar.

Moreover, in a land where there are so few amusements, where the theatre and the ball and the concert are regarded as being certainly dangerous and in all probability sinful, the tours of the Parliamentary party contribute not a little to introduce a much-needed element of gaiety into the national life. Redmond and his merry men are to Ireland very much what Thespis and his must-smearing mummers were to the inhabitants of old Attica. The Pattern is dead. Long live the Demonstration. The procession to the field of glory is magnificent. In a waggonette in front sit the members and the priests and the local officials of the League. Bands are playing. Banners are flying. All the girls and boys are there in their best Sunday go-to-meeting finery. On arriving at the platform there ensues a general dispersal. The young people go sweethearting behind the hedges and ditches. Others throng the tap-rooms of the public-houses. Only a faithful few remain to imbibe the stock denunciations of the mischievous rule of a foreign Government and of the grinding landlords—all leading up to a flamboyant peroration on the reopening in the near future of the Old House in Collège Green. It is all "thrice-boiled colewort," but at the end every man turns to his tent vaguely satisfied that it has been a great day for Ireland.

There can be no possible danger in such proceedings as long as no one attaches undue importance to them. Certainly the demonstrators themselves do not fall into this error. I have rubbed shoulders with the crowd on such occasions, and can testify that they regard the whole business as a fine bit of play-acting, and nothing more. When they cheer a threat to rise and take the field against the nefarious British Government they know perfectly well that neither those who speak nor those who cheer have the remotest intention of doing such a silly thing. The Irishman has always, according to his capacity, had a hankering for things literary, and since the abolition of the old plague of bards there is nothing he likes better than listening to the Parliament-men orating *sub Jove*. A late judge once confessed that his idea of Paradise was to sit and try *nisi prius* cases for all eternity. I fancy the average Irishman would plump for an endless monster meeting in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. But he does not allow the facile fustian to influence his daily life. In spite of the vitriolic attacks on Dublin Castle, the huckster cadges to get some of the Castle money spent in his shop by the police. In spite of the denunciations of England's wars and her leprous army, the patriot on the urban council will move heaven and earth and the War Office to have a regiment garrisoned in his own town. And the most stalwart member who cheered the Boers will see nothing absurd or incongruous in his begging that a gunboat should patrol the local fishery, or that the Channel Fleet should prolong its stay in his own particular port.

Proof of the havoc the dry-rot has made both in the party and the people may be found in the fact that accusations of treachery are

freely bandied about. "D'ye see thon man?" my neighbour asked me as we stood in front of the platform at a demonstration. "Thon man" was a lanky fellow who was pouring red-hot abuse on Dublin Castle and all its works and pomps. I nodded. "Well, they say, mind you, he's a Castle hack himself." This was said in a tone devoid of all bitterness. I should have thought that the slightest suspicion of such treachery would have ensured the orator's immediate assassination. On the contrary, he was a popular fellow, sat on an urban and a district council, and took a hand in everything that was going on. And yet, as I made it my business to discover, the opinion was universal that he was a paid spy of the Castle. Another belief I found current was that there are in London several Irish medical men who are in receipt of secret-service money. These reports may be well or ill founded. At least they prove a very prevalent distrust of each other among the patriots.

As the failure of O'Connell threw the movement into the hands of the Young Irelanders, so the failure of Mr. Redmond and his party has given the innings to Sinn Fein. These two Irish words may be anglicised "Ourselves alone," and are the motto of a society which, believing that nothing good can come from Westminster, demands that the Irish members shall cease to attend there, and that the money wasted on their upkeep shall be devoted to the fostering of industries in Ireland and the establishment abroad of agents whose business it shall be to discover markets for Irish goods. This policy of abstention and self-help usually goes by the name of the Hungarian policy, inasmuch as it is argued a similar policy won home-rule for Hungary. The notion is by no means a novel one, though just at present it is more in the air. There has always existed a school of advanced politicians who held that the very fact of Ireland sending representatives to Westminster was an acknowledgment of, and an acquiescence in, the Act of Union, and that the only logical and effectual way of protesting against the iniquity of that Act was to refuse absolutely to send members to sit in the British Commons—or, as lawyers would put it, to plead to the jurisdiction. John Mitchel said, "Ireland has no right to send representatives to Westminster, which is for them only a conduit of corruption, a workshop of coercion, and a perpetual memento of slavery." It may be at once allowed that if the present party had lived up to the height of its first calling in the days of Parnell little would now be heard of Sinn Fein. It is its own ineptitude that has given the chance to those who clamour for its formal extinction.

How forcible that clamour is at present may be inferred from the fact that it has found an echo in the breasts even of some Parliamentarians themselves. Mr. O'Mara, after a Parliamentary career of over six years, finds Parliamentarianism useless and unprofitable, and has resigned his seat. Other members, more fully adopting the Sinn Fein theory, have not resigned, but have simply gone back to Ireland, there to abide. Of these the most notable is Sir Thomas Esmonde. Sir Thomas is a great-grandson of Henry Grattan. He has been a member of the Irish party for over twenty years. He is Chairman of the General Council of the County Councils of Ireland.* The secession of such a man is of incalculable importance. There are other members who are well known to be in sympathy with Sinn Fein, but who, for financial reasons, cannot afford to break away from the party.

* Since this was written Sir T. Esmonde has failed to secure re-election as Chairman.—ED

Mr. William O'Brien has gone so far as to suggest that the country might do worse than give the Sinn Fein policy a trial for five years. Such a suggestion, coming from such a source, is little likely to recommend itself to the leaders of the party. Mr. O'Brien is the most pathetic figure in contemporary Irish politics. One thinks of New Tipperary and sighs. *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* For Mr. O'Brien actually founded a town. Or was it a city? Amphion, who, to the sole strains of his lyre, without the prosaic accompaniments of bricks and mortar, erected the walls of Thebes the hundred-gated, must pale his ineffectual glory before the lustre of Mr. O'Brien's achievement. Indeed, there is a distinct aroma of the first page of Genesis about the creation of New Tipperary. Mr. O'Brien spoke, and the thing was done. New Tipperary, a crude congeries of wooden shanties, compared with which the mud hut of the cottier was a Taj Mahal, "rose like an exhalation." The confiding inhabitants of Tipperary rose up one fine morning and quitted their homes to enter into the possession of their new inheritance. *Sancta simplicitas!* Where is New Tipperary now? One searches in vain for any trace thereof on the map. "I passed by the walls of Balclutha, and they were desolate." You will find there the lion and the lizard and the wild ass—or, rather, their Irish countertypes. But Mr. O'Brien does not inscribe this A.U.C. on his medals. He is now oyster-shelled, and spends most of his time in exile, but, like Der Wanderer in *Siegfried*, he is continually turning up and delivering tiresome and tedious lectures. His latest is to counsel his old comrades to pass a self-denying ordinance and efface themselves for five years!

They will, of course, do nothing of the kind. But it does not really matter. Nothing matters very much now in Irish politics. What Ireland wants is a good long rest from politics. The very best thing possible would be to have half a dozen of the leading agitators nailed up in a barrel and dropped gently into the Irish Sea.

AN IRISH NATIONALIST.

IRISH FARM LIFE.

By An Old Liberal.

To the Editor.

SIR,—Some weeks ago a letter from an Irish farmer was published in the newspapers about the state of this country. I, too, am an Irish farmer, and I should like to tell you what is going on in this, my little corner of the United Kingdom.

My farm of nearly 400 acres is in one of the Midland counties, not in the far-off West, but only 70 miles from Dublin; yet we, who wish to observe the law and live a respectable life, are obliged to face a stiff up-hill fight these times. And whilst we are struggling day and night, I often ask myself, "Can people in Great Britain either know or care what our life in Ireland is like"? And reluctantly I feel that the answer must be "No." Yet, after all, the farmers of my acquaintance in Great Britain are fond of liberty and abhor disorder; will they never realise that here, in Ireland, we have perpetual disorder, but no liberty?

Not only have we cases of cattle raiding all round us here, but, what is almost worse, we are living under a system of the grossest intimidation accompanied by the most malignant spite.

A neighbour of mine, who has a fine farm which employs many labourers, has been subjected, first to the raiding of his cattle, and then to stringent boycotting; so stringent that no supplies of any sort can be procured by him in the local town, and even large shopkeepers in Dublin are afraid to send him any goods.

His cattle—and fine stock they were, too—have been driven off his lands in broad daylight; many of his men, dependent on their wages for the livelihood of themselves and their families, have been forced to leave him; some 50 acres of his meadows lie uncut now, in the month of November. The wife of one of his labourers, who eked out a precarious existence with a small salary for the care and cleaning of the Roman Catholic Church, has been forced to give up her position because her husband refused to leave the service of his employer.

The same farmer owns another place some 20 miles away, on which he keeps cattle and sheep. What will English farmers think when I tell them that, in order to visit this other farm, my neighbour is obliged to drive over secretly at night, for fear of outrage, and is compelled to get home again as soon as is possible after daylight comes. Tradesmen who have for years supplied my friend with all necessities, have actually apologised to the League for having continued to serve him, although in one case there was an actual contract in existence, which has now been broken.

In our local town here the driver of the omnibus from the hotel to the railway station was seen speaking to this persecuted farmer; immediately the manager of the hotel was called upon to dismiss his employee. Can the refinement of cruelty be carried further, and the vent of petty spite be more indulged in? Are you yet satisfied that we live by leave and in terror of "The League"?

My own cattle and sheep have not yet been interfered with, but—who knows—on any morning when my herd and I go round the farm

we may find that gates have been broken during the night, that gaps have been opened in the fences, and that all the stock has been driven some three or four miles away. The English farmer, when his day's work is over, feels entitled to rest and knows that his stock is safe ; it is not easy for him to conceive the anxieties and difficulties which have to be faced by some of his brother agriculturists in this country. For myself, I have always held Liberal views in politics, whenever I had time to think of such things, and it amazes me how a Minister (like our Chief Secretary) in a Radical Government can tolerate this wicked interference in the everyday life of respectable people, who desire nothing better than to be left alone, and to attend to business in a peaceable way. Nor am I alone in my amazement, for I have friends whom I meet on the road, at the fairs, in the markets, who also stand aghast at the apathy of the Government—and, must I add it, of the English people.

You may perhaps ask me, "Well, what is your remedy?" And I say at once that the simplest remedy is the enforcement of the Crimes Act—a measure containing many provisions exactly similar to the ordinary law in Scotland—which can be put into force on the very day that the Lord Lieutenant finds the common courage to take up his pen and sign his name to a Proclamation. We know that there is no "coercion" about it, except for criminals; and I always argue that, although I have many friends in Scotland, where these provisions are perpetually in force, I have never heard one of them (say in Berwickshire or Forfarshire) complain that he was ground to the earth under the provisions of a brutal law! Everybody over here knows exactly why the Crimes Act is not used; it is because Lord Aberdeen is afraid to face the simulated anger of the Nationalists, and Mr. Birrell shares his dread.

We were very much interested in a speech which Mr. Morley made the other day at Arbroath: in reference to the necessity for maintaining order in India, he said, "In the name of duty and of common-sense, my first and commanding task is to keep order; and, whatever else there is, there must be firmness."

When I read these words, after I had finished my day's work on the farm, I wondered how long it would be before Mr. Morley's brother Cabinet Minister, our Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, would have the courage to adopt a similar line regarding this country? We can but wait and see.

I have not time now to give you more particulars of what is going on here, but perhaps I shall be able to write to you again after Christmas. Let me finish by telling you that the district which I have been describing, and in which all this boycotting is going on, was described to me recently by a large builder and carpenter who knows all the facts as absolutely a "hell upon earth." Before the League got loose, it was as quiet as any part of Ireland.

Can you hold out to us any hope that the day is not far distant when the English people will insist that the law-breaker shall be punished in Ireland as in Great Britain, and when the Liberal party will protect the liberty of the subject? I know that when that time comes the gloom which is steadily settling down upon all classes in Ireland will be chased away, and steady progress will be made along the path of industry and peace.

Yours faithfully,

AN OLD LIBERAL.

IRISH DIARY.

1907.

November 1.—Annual Meeting of the Irish Landowners' Convention in Dublin.

November 6.—Deputation from the General Council of Irish County Councils to the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, and Mr. Birrell, with reference to the losses on Irish Land Purchase.

November 7.—Mr. Birrell speaks on the Irish University Question at the opening meeting of the Literary and Historical Society in University College, Dublin.

November 10.—Mr. John Redmond at Birr.

November 11.—Mr. Chaplin, M.P., speaks at West Bromwich on Irish affairs.

November 12.—Mr. Birrell at Southampton.

November 13.—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Birrell at Bristol.

November 14.—National Union Conference at Birmingham. A resolution, moved by Mr. S. H. Butcher, M.P., and seconded by Sir J. Stronge, Bart., dealing with the present lawlessness in Ireland, and condemning the ineffective measures adopted by the Government to check it, unanimously adopted.

November 15.—Mr. Balfour, speaking at Birmingham, deals with Irish affairs.

November 16.—Letter in "The Times" from Mr. Walter Long with reference to Irish affairs.

November 17.—Mr. John Redmond at Ennis.

November 18.—Lord Londonderry at Kendal, and Lord Ashbourne at Leyburn, Yorkshire, refer to the lawless condition of certain parts of Ireland.

Letter in "The Times" from Sir Edward Carson on Mr. Birrell's speech at Southampton.

November 22.—Mr. Birrell at the Palace Theatre of Varieties, Belfast.

November 23.—Mr. Birrell at a luncheon given by the Ulster Liberal Association, Belfast.

November 24.—Mr. John Redmond at Cavan.

November 25.—Mr. Birrell at Ballymoney.

November 26.—Mr. Birrell at Londonderry.

Letter in "The Times" from Sir Edward Carson with reference to Mr. Birrell's speeches at Belfast.

November 27.—Mr. Redmond at Cardiff and Merthyr Tydvil.

November 29.—Mr. Redmond at Glasgow.

December 1.—Mr. Redmond at Motherwell.

December 2.—Mr. Redmond at Sheffield.

December 3.—Mr. Redmond at Liverpool.

Letter in "The Times" from Mr. A. Samuels, K.C., on "Birrellism and the English Markets."

December 5.—Dr. Traill, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, referred to the Irish University question in a speech at Manchester.

Mr. Chaplin, M.P., spoke on Irish affairs at Salisbury.

Letter from Mr. Walter Long with reference to crime in Ireland.

December 7.—Sir Edward Carson, M.P., at Macclesfield on Irish disorder.

Mr. J. H. Campbell, M.P., at Londonderry.

December 9.—Mr. Balfour in the course of his speech at Devonport dealt with the prevailing lawlessness in Ireland.

December 11.—Liberal Unionist Conference in Edinburgh. Irish affairs discussed.

Lord Lansdowne at Edinburgh refers to disorder in Ireland.

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TO

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VOL. 1.



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